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THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. 1896. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. French Translation, 1897, Paris. Russian Translation, 1898, Moscow. Spanish Translation, 1898, Madrid. Japanese Translation, 1900, Tôkyô. Bohemian Translation, 1900, Prague. Hebrew Translation, 1901, Warsaw.

THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY: A Text-book for Colleges and Schools. 1898. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE: With Studies of their Psychological, Economic, and Moral Foundations. 1900. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

INDUCTIVE SOCIOLOGY: A Syllabus of Methods, Analyses, and Classifications, and Provisionally Formulated Laws. 1901. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

READINGS

IN

DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITED BY

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"DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE," ETC.

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PREFACE

THE chief purpose held in view in preparing this volume has been to offer to the beginner in sociological studies significant examples of the great facts of social evolution, and of their interpretation; and to present them so that collectively, and in connection with a mere outline of theory, they should constitute a fairly complete scheme of elementary readings in descriptive and historical sociology. They should not be accepted by the teacher as a substitute for inductive research on the part of the student. My own method of using such materials in teaching has been to require students to find, analyze, and classify similar materials obtained from historical sources, statistical and other official reports, newspapers, and current literature. The selections here given thus become samples and points of comparison, and the mind of the student is kept alert to discover essential similarities between facts drawn from widely different sources.

Among the selections will be found many readings that every student of this subject should be familiar with, but which often are inaccessible to classes distant from large libraries. Many other selections have purposely been taken from a class of materials that in the narrower sense of the word are "unhistorical," while in a broader sense they have an historical character of the utmost importance. Folk-lore, legends, and other early tales, for example, are not to be accepted as accounts of events that ever happened as related, but they are faithful pictures of the

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minds of men. They show what things people believed, what they were interested in, and how they interpreted life. In like manner, such a passage as Plutarch's famous account of the economic reforms attributed to Lycurgus is, from one point of view, a fine early example of yellow journalism. Yet, from another point of view, it is a priceless document, showing how in that old Grecian world the minds of men were wrestling with the same problems of the apportionment of economic opportunity that industrial states are wrestling with to-day, and that the experiments which appeal to large classes to-day, appealed in like manner to earnest men then.

Among the selections that will generally be recognized as "historical," there are doubtless some that may not withstand criticism. I use them for what they may be worth, and the teacher may profitably raise questions of accuracy for his class to consider. In no case do I undertake to indorse the opinions expressed by writers quoted. They, too, are put before teachers and students for what they are worth, and the wise teacher will encourage his students to think for themselves upon controverted questions and beliefs. I sincerely trust that this procedure will be extended to all views that I have myself expressed. I have learned a great deal in the course of my teaching from the dissent and the objections of my students, for whose criticisms I shall always be grateful.

The thread of text that runs through the volume, and which consists chiefly of mere definitions and abstract propositions, with little attempt at demonstration, is intended primarily to enable the student to "place" his materials, to see where they naturally belong in a logical scheme of general sociology.

It is, however, also somewhat more than this. As a mere outline of social theory, it is more complete in scope than anything I have offered in my previous volumes.

New theoretical matter, that is not to be found in my *Principles*, *Elements*, or *Inductive Sociology*, includes the following sections, namely: —

The analysis of kinds of societies; the theory of social causation which is carried throughout the book, and especially the application made of the laws of increasing and diminishing return; the analysis of inter-stimulation and response; the new analysis of sovereignty and government, and the account of the great social policies; the hypothesis concerning the genesis of the various forms of the family, and the interpretation of the curious double process seen in the evolution of social organization whereby, as society expands and complicates, the unitary group is divided and subdivided, until finally the individual is set free as the true unit in the highest social order.

For the theoretical text and the general arrangement of the materials, I am alone responsible; but for most of the actual work of finding and choosing the selections, I am indebted to Mrs. M. V. Gaden, whose accurate and extensive knowledge of the literature of sociology has been invaluable.

I wish to acknowledge, also, my obligation to the following publishers and authors for their generous permission to make use of the copyrighted materials named: Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., McMaster's *History of the People of the United States;* Mr. Thomas Willing Balch, *Some Facts about Alsace and Lorraine;* The Arthur H. Clark Company, the Thwaites editions, in *Early Western Travels*, of the *Journal of André Micheaux*, and *Cuming's Tour;* The Columbia University Press, Giles's *China and the Chinese*, and Krans's *Irish Life in Irish Fiction;* Messrs. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., *Hull House Maps and Papers;* Messrs. Harper and Brothers, Gerard's *The Land beyond the Forest*, and Green's *Short History of the English People;* Messrs. Henry Holt & Co., the Durand trans-

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BOOK I

SOCIETY AND SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

Society

The word "society" has three legitimate significations. The first is that of the Latin word *societas*, meaning "companionship," "good-fellowship," "pleasurable consorting together," or meaning the individuals collectively regarded that consort. Examples of society in this original sense are afforded by the commingling of familiar spirits at the tavern or the club, the casual association of chance acquaintances at the summer resort, the numberless more formal "functions" of "the season." In the second signification of the word, "society" is a group of individuals coöperating for the achievement of any object of common interest or utility, as, for example, a merchant guild, an industrial corporation, a church, a congress of arts and science. Finally, in the third signification of the word, "society" is a group of individuals dwelling together and sharing many interests of life in common. A nest of ants, a savage horde, a confederation of barbarian tribes, a hamlet or village, a city-state, a national state, a federal empire — all these are societies within the third and comprehensive definition of the term. A scientific conception of society must lie within the boundaries fixed by these three familiar meanings, but it must seize upon and make explicit the essential fact, whatever it may be, that is a common element in all social relations.

CHAPTER II

The Nature of Society

At the present time we find in sociological literature two competing conceptions of the essential nature of society. They are known respectively as the organic and the psychological conception.

The organic conception assumes that the group of individuals dwelling and working together is the true, or typical, society, and that it is as much a unity, although made up of individuals, as is the animal or the vegetal body, composed of cells and differentiated into mutually dependent tissues and organs. Sketched in bold outlines by Herbert Spencer in his essay on "The Social Organism" in 1860, the organic conception has been elaborated by Schäffle and Lilienfeld, and is to-day accepted as the working hypothesis of an able group of French sociologists, whose work appears in the proceedings of L'Institut international de Sociologie.

The psychological conception assumes that, whether or not the organic conception be true and of scientific importance, it fails to get to the bottom of things. It assumes that even if society is an organism, there is necessarily some interaction of individual with individual, or some form of activity common to all individuals that serves to bind them together in helpful and pleasurable relations, and that this activity, instead of being merely physical, like the cohesion of material cells, is a mental phenomenon.

It assumes that all social bonds may be resolved into some common activity or some interactivity of individual minds. It is, in short, a view of society as a mode of mental activity.

This is the psychological conception in general terms. It takes, however, four specific forms in attempting to answer the question: What definite mode of mental action is the most elementary form of the social relation?

According to the most pretentious of these answers, one that dates back to Epicurus, and lies at the base of all the covenant or social contract theories of political philosophy, the psychological origin of society is found in a perception of the utility of association. It assumes that men consciously and purposely create social relations to escape the ills of a "state of nature" and to reap the rewards of coöperation. This rationalistic theory offers a true explanation of highly artificial forms of social organization in a civil, especially an industrial, state, but it throws no light upon the nature of elemental, spontaneous coöperation. For this we must turn to the other three conceptions — all of them, I venture to think, modernized forms of certain very ancient notions.

According to one of these, the most elementary social fact is seen in the constraining power, the impression, the contagious influence that an aggregation, a mass, of living beings, exerts upon each individual mind. Society is thus viewed as a phenomenon closely allied to suggestion and hypnosis. This view of society is most fully set forth in the writings of Durkheim and Le Bon.

A third conception, identified with the life-work of Gabriel Tarde, assumes that impression, contagion, influence, as forms of the interaction of mind with mind,

may themselves be accounted for. It explains them as modes of example and imitation. All society is thus resolved into products of imitation.

In strict psychological analysis these "impression" and "imitation" theories must be classed, I think, as scientifically developed forms of the "sympathy" theories of society, that may be traced back through the literature of political philosophy to very early days. They offer proximate explanations of the great social facts of resemblance, of mutuality, of solidarity; but do they, beyond a doubt, trace concerted activity back to its absolute origin? Above all, do they account not only for similarity, but also for variation, for the differentiation of communities into leaders and followers, for competition as well as for combination, for liberty as well as for solidarity?

The fourth conception, put forth some years ago by the present writer, should be classed as a developed form of the instinct theory, dating back to Aristotle's aphorism that man is a political animal. It assumes that the most elementary form of social relationship is discovered in the very beginning of mental phenomena. In its simplest form mental activity is a response of sensitive matter to a stimulus. Any given stimulus may happen to be felt by more than one organism, at the same or at different times. Two or more organisms may respond to the same given stimulus simultaneously or at different times. They may respond to the same given stimulus in like or in unlike ways; in the same or in different degrees; with like or with unlike promptitude; with equal or with unequal persistence. I have attempted to show that in like response to the same given stimulus we have the beginning, the absolute origin, of all concerted activity — the inception of

mon stimuli, to differing stimuli, and to inter-stimulation, and responding thereto in like behaviour, concerted activity, or coöperation, as well as in unlike, or competitive, activity; and becoming, therefore, with developing intelligence, coherent through a dominating consciousness of kind, while always sufficiently conscious of difference to insure a measure of individual liberty.

CHAPTER III

Kinds of Societies

There are types or kinds of societies. The broadest groupings correspond to the familiar demarcations made by natural history. There are Animal Societies and Human Societies; and the human societies are further divided into the Ethnic — or communities of kindred, and the Civil — or communities composed of individuals that dwell and work together without regard to their blood-relationships.

More significant for the sociologist, however, is a classification based on psychological characteristics. The fundamental division now is into Instinctive and Rational societies. The bands, swarms, flocks, and herds in which animals live and coöperate are held together by instinct and not by rational comprehension of the utility of association. Their like-response to stimulus, their imitative acts, the frequent appearance among them of impression and submission, are all purely instinctive phenomena. Not so are the social relations of human beings. There is no human community in which instinctive like-response to stimulation is not complicated by some degree of rational comprehension of the utility of association.

The combinations, however, of instinct and reason are of many gradations; and the particular combination found in any given community determines its modes of like-

response to stimulus and its consciousness of kind — establishes for it a dominant mode of the relation of mind to mind, or, as Tarde would have phrased it, of inter-mental activity. This dominant mode of inter-mental activity — inclusive of like-response and the consciousness of kind — is the chief social bond of the given community, and it affords the best distinguishing mark for a classification of any society on psychological grounds. So discriminated, the kinds of rational or human societies are eight, as follows: —

1. There is a homogeneous community of blood-relatives, composed of individuals that from infancy have been exposed to a common environment and to like circumstances, and who, therefore, by heredity and experience are alike. Always conscious of themselves as kindred, their chief social bond is sympathy. The kind or type of society, therefore, that is represented by a group of kindred may be called the Sympathetic.

2. There is a community made up of like spirits, gathered perhaps from widely distant points, and perhaps originally strangers, but drawn together by their common response to a belief or dogma, or to an opportunity for pleasure or improvement. Such is the religious colony, like the "Mayflower" band, or the Latter-Day Saints; such is the partisan political colony, like the Missouri and the New England settlements in Kansas; and such is the communistic brotherhood, like Icaria. Similarity of nature and agreement in ideas constitute the social bond, and the kind of society so created is therefore appropriately called the Congenial.

3. There is a community of miscellaneous and sometimes lawless elements, drawn together by economic op-

portunity — the frontier settlement, the cattle range, the mining camp. The newcomer enters this community an uninvited but unhindered probationer, and remains in it on sufferance. A general approbation of qualities and conduct is practically the only social bond. This type of society, therefore, I venture to call the Approbational.

The three types of society thus far named are simple, spontaneously formed groups. The first two are homogeneous, and are found usually in relatively isolated environments. The third is heterogeneous, and has a transitory existence where exceptional economic opportunities are discovered on the confines of established civilizations.

Societies of the remaining five types are in a measure artificial, in part created by reflection — by conscious planning. They are usually compound, products of conquest or of federation, and, with few if any exceptions, they are of heterogeneous composition. They are found in the relatively bountiful and differentiated environments.

4. A community of the fourth type consists of elements widely unequal in ability: the strong and the weak, the brave and the timorous, exploiters and the exploited — like enough conquerors and the conquered. The social bonds of this community are despotic power and a fear-inspired obedience. The social type is the Despotic.

5. In any community of the fifth type arbitrary power has been established long enough to have identified itself with tradition and religion. Accepted as divinely right, it has become authority. Reverence for authority is the social bond, and the social type is, therefore, the Authoritative.

6. Society of the sixth type arises in populations that,

like the Italian cities at their worst estate, have suffered disintegration of a preëxisting social order. Unscrupulous adventurers come forward and create relations of personal allegiance by means of bribery, patronage, and preferment. Intrigue and conspiracy are the social bonds. The social type is the Conspirital.

7. Society of the seventh type is deliberately created by agreement. The utility of association has been perceived, and a compact of coöperation is entered into for the promotion of the general welfare. Such was the Achæan League. Such was the League of the Iroquois. Such was the confederation of American commonwealths in 1778. The social bond is a covenant or contract. The social type is the Contractual.

8. Society of the eighth type exists where a population collectively responds to certain great ideals, that, by united efforts, it strives to realize. Comprehension of mind by mind, confidence, fidelity, and an altruistic spirit of social service are the social bonds. The social type is the Idealistic.

Of these varieties of society the higher, compound communities, or commonwealths, may, and usually do, include examples of the lower types among their component groups.

Animal Societies

The plateaus, the Alpine tracts, and the steppes of the Old and the New World are stocked with herds of deer, antelopes, gazelles, fallow deer, buffaloes, wild goats, and sheep, all of which are sociable animals. When the Europeans came to settle in America, they found it so densely peopled with buffaloes that pioneers had to stop their advance when a column of migrating buffaloes came to cross the route they followed, the march past of the dense

column lasting sometimes for two or three days. And when the Russians took possession of Siberia they found it so densely peopled with deer, antelopes, squirrels, and other sociable animals, that the very conquest of Siberia was nothing but a hunting expedition which lasted for two hundred years; while the grass plains of eastern Africa are still covered with herds composed of zebra, the harte-beest, and other antelopes.

Not long ago the small streams of northern America and northern Siberia were peopled with colonies of beavers, and up to the sevénteenth century like colonies swarmed in northern Russia. The flat lands of the four great continents are still covered with countless colonies of mice, ground-squirrels, marmots, and other rodents. In the lower latitudes of Asia and Africa the forests are still the abode of numerous families of elephants, rhinoceroses, and numberless societies of monkeys. In the far north the reindeer aggregate in numberless herds; while still farther north we find the herds of the musk-oxen and numberless bands of polar foxes. The coasts of the ocean are enlivened by flocks of seals and morses; its waters, by shoals of sociable cetaceans; and even in the depths of the great plateau of Central Asia we find herds of wild horses, wild donkeys, wild camels, and wild sheep. All these mammals live in societies and nations, sometimes numbering hundreds of thousands of individuals, although now, after three centuries of gunpowder civilization, we find but the débris of the immense aggregations of old. How trifling, in comparison with them, are the numbers of the carnivores! And how false, therefore, is the view of those who speak of the animal world as if nothing were to be seen in it but lions and hyenas, plunging their bleeding teeth into the flesh of their victims! One might as well imagine that the whole of human life is nothing but a succession of war massacres.

P. KROPOTKIN, *Mutual Aid*, 38–4[illegible]

Ethnic Societies : The Tribal Circle of the Ponkas

In former days, whenever a large camping ground could not be found, the Ponkas used to encamp in three

centric circles; while the Omahas, who were a smaller tribe, pitched their tents in two similar circles. This custom gave rise to the name, "Oyate yamni," the Three Nations, as the Ponkas were styled by the Dakotas, and the Omahas became known as the Two Nations. But the usual order of encampment has been to pitch all the tents in one large circle, or horseshoe, called "hūṭuga" by the Indians. In this circle the gentes took their regular places, disregarding their gentile circles, and pitching the tents, one after another, within the area necessary for each gens. This circle was not made by measurement, nor did any one give directions where each tent should be placed; that was left to the women.

When the people built a village of earth lodges, and dwelt in it, they did not observe this order of camping. Each man caused his lodge to be built wherever he wished to have it, generally near those of his kindred. But whenever the whole tribe migrated with the skin tents, as when they went after the buffaloes, they observed this order.

Sometimes the tribe divided into two parties, some going in one direction, some in another. On such occasions the regular order of camping was not observed; each man encamped near his kindred, whether they were national or paternal consanguinities.

The crier used to tell the people to what place they were to go, and when they reached it, the women began to pitch the tents.

Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 219.

Ethnic Societies: The Tribal Circle of the Hebrews

And Jehovah spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, The children of Israel shall encamp every man by his own standard, with the ensigns of their fathers' houses: over against the tent of meeting shall they encamp round about. And those that encamp on the east side toward the sunrising shall be they of the standard of the camp of the armies of Judah according to their hosts: and the prince of the people of the children of Judah shall be Nahshon the son of Amminadab. And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hun-

dred. And those that encamp next unto him shall be the tribe of Issachar: and the prince of the children of Issachar shall be Nethanel the son of Zuar: and his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred: *and* the tribe of Zebulun: and the prince of the children of Zebulun shall be Eliab the son of Helon: and his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred. All that were numbered of the camp of Judah were a hundred thousand and fourscore thousand and six thousand and four hundred, according to their hosts. They shall set forth first.

On the south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Reuben shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur. And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were forty and six thousand and five hundred. And those that encamp next unto him shall be the tribe of Simeon: and the prince of the children of Simeon shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred: and the tribe of Gad: and the prince of the children of Gad shall be Eliasaph the son of Reuel: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and five thousand and six hundred and fifty. All that were numbered of the camp of Reuben were a hundred thousand and fifty and one thousand and four hundred and fifty, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth second.

Then the tent of meeting shall set forward, with the camp of the Levites in the midst of the camps: as they encamp, so shall they set forward, every man in his place, by their standards.

On the west side shall be the standard of the camp of Ephraim according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Ephraim shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud. And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty thousand and five hundred. And next unto him shall be the tribe of Manasseh: and the prince of the children of Manasseh shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur: and his host, and those that

were numbered of them, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred: and the tribe of Benjamin: and the prince of the children of Benjamin shall be Abidan the son of Gideoni: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were a hundred thousand and eight thousand and a hundred, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth third.

On the north side shall be the standard of the camp of Dan according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Dan shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred. And those that encamp next unto him shall be the tribe of Asher: and the prince of the children of Asher shall be Pagiel the son of Ochran: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and one thousand and five hundred: and the tribe of Naphtali: and the prince of the children of Naphtali shall be Ahira the son of Enan: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred. All that were numbered of the camp of Dan were a hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand and six hundred. They shall set forth hindmost by their standards.

These are they that were numbered of the children of Israel by their fathers' houses: all that were numbered of the camps according to their hosts were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty. But the Levites were not numbered among the children of Israel; as Jehovah commanded Moses. Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that Jehovah commanded Moses, so they encamped by their standards, and so they set forward, every one by their families, according to their fathers' houses.

Numbers, Chap. ii.

Sympathetic Society: The Greek Kindred

And Tlepolemos, Herakles' son, goodly and tall, led from Rhodes nine ships of the lordly Rhodians, that dwelt in Rhodes in threefold ordering, in Lindos, and Ialysos and chalky Kameiros. These were led of Tlepolemos the famous spearman, that was born to great Herakles by Astyocheia, whom he had brought away from Ephyre by the river Selleëis, when he laid waste many cities of strong men, fosterlings of Zeus. Now when Tlepolemos had grown to manhood within the strong palace walls, anon he slew his own father's dear uncle, an old man now, Likymnios of the stock of Ares. Then with speed built he ships and gathered much folk together, and went fleeing across the deep, because the other sons and grandsons of great Herakles threatened him. So he came to Rhodes, a wanderer, enduring hardships, and his folk settled by kinship in three tribes, and were loved of Zeus that is king among gods and men; and Kronion poured upon them exceeding great wealth.

HOMER, *The Iliad*, translated by LANG, LEAF, and MYERS, 41–42.

Sympathetic Society: The English Kindred

Although the Mark seems originally to have been defined by the nature of the district, the hills, streams and forests, still its individual, peculiar and, as it were, private character depended in some degree also upon long-subsisting relations of the Markmen, both among themselves, and with regard to others. I represent them to myself as great family unions, comprising households of various degrees of wealth, rank and authority: some, in direct descent from the common ancestors, or from the hero of the particular tribe; others, more distantly connected, through the natural result of increasing population, which multiplies indeed the members of the family, but removes them at every step further from the original stock: some, admitted into communion by marriage, others by adoption; others even by emancipation; but all recognizing a brotherhood, a kinsmanship, or *sibscaft*; all standing together as

one unit in respect of other, similar communities; all governed by the same judges and led by the same captains; all sharing in the same religious rites, and all known to themselves and to their neighbors by one general name.

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Once established, such distinctive appellations must wander with the migrations of the communities themselves, or such portions of them as want of land and means, and excess of population at home, compelled to seek new settlements. In the midst of restless movements, so general and extensive as those of our progenitors, it cannot surprise us, when we find the gentile names of Germany, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, reproduced upon our own shores. Even where a few adventurers — one only — bearing a celebrated name, took possession of a new home, comrades would readily be found, glad to constitute themselves around him under an appellation long recognized as heroic; or a leader, distinguished for his skill, his valour and success, his power or superior wealth, may have found little difficulty in imposing the name of his own race upon all who shared in his adventures. Thus Harlings and Wælsings, names most intimately connected with the great epos of the Germanic and Scandinavian races, are reproduced in several localities in England: Billing, the noble progenitor of the royal race of Saxony, has more than one enduring record; and similarly, I believe all the local denominations of the early settlements to have arisen and been perpetuated.

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The Wælsings, the Völsungar of the Edda, and Volsungen of the German Heldensage, have already been noticed in a cursory manner: they are the family whose hero is Siegfried or Sigurdr, the centre round which the Nibelungen epos circles. Another of their princes, Fitela, the Norse Sinfiötli, is recorded in the poem of Beówulf, and from him appear to have been derived the Fitelingas, whose name survives in Fitling.

The Herelingas or Harlings have also been noticed; they are connected with the same great cycle, and are men-

tioned in the Traveller's Song, 1. 224. As Harlingen in Friesland retains a record of the same name, it is possible that it may have wandered to the coast of Norfolk with the Batavian auxiliaries, *numerus Batavorum*, who served under their own chiefs in Britain. The Swæfas, a border tribe of the Angles, reappear at Swaffham. The Brentings are found again in Brentingby. The Scyldings and Scylfings, perhaps the most celebrated of the Northern races, give their names to Skelding and Shilvington. The Ardings, whose memorial is retained in Ardingley, Ardington, and Ardingworth, are the Azdingi, the royal race of the Visigoths and Vandals: a name which confirms the tradition of a settlement of Vandals in England. With these we probably should not confound the Heardingas, who have left their name to Hardingham in Norfolk. The Banings, over whom Becca ruled, are recognized in Banningham; the Hælsings in Helsington, and in the Swedish Helsingland: the Myrgings, perhaps in Merring and Merrington: the Hundings, perhaps in Hunningham and Hunnington: the Hócings, in Hucking; the Seringas meet us in Sharington, Sherington, and Sheringham. The Ðyringas, in Thorington and Thorrington, are likely to be offshoots of the great Hermunduric race, the Thyringi or Thoringi, now Thuringians, always neighbours of the Saxons. The Bleccingas, a race who probably gave name to Bleckingen in Sweden, are found in Bletchington and Bletchingley. In the Gytingas, known to us from Guiting, we can yet trace the Alamannic tribe of the Juthungi, or Jutungi. Perhaps in the Scytingas or Scydingas, we may find another Alamannic tribe, the Scudingi, and in the Dylingas, an Alpine or Highdutch name, the Tulingi. The Wæringas are probably the Norman Væringjar, whom we call Varangians. The Wylfingas, another celebrated race, well known in Norse tradition, are recorded in Beówulf and the Traveller's Song.

KEMBLE, *The Saxons in England*, Vol. I. 56–57, 58–59, 61–63.

Congenial Society: The Christians at Jerusalem

And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one *of them* said that aught of the

things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles their witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all. For neither was there among them any that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need.

Acts, Chap. iv. 32–35.

Congenial Society: The Huguenots in England

Another highly interesting memorial of the asylum given to the persecuted Protestants of Flanders and France so many centuries ago, is presented by the Walloon or French church which exists to this day in Canterbury Cathedral. It was formed at a very early period — some suppose as early as the reign of Edward VI., like those of London and Southampton; though the first record preserved of its existence is early in the reign of Elizabeth. Shortly after the landings of the foreign Protestants at Sandwich and Rye, a body of them proceeded to Canterbury, and sought permission of the mayor and aldermen to settle in the place. They came principally from Lisle, Nuelle, Turcoing, Waterloo, Darmentières, and other places situated along the present French frontier.

The first arrivals of the fugitives consisted of eighteen families, led by their pastor, Hector Hamon, "minister verbi Dei." They are described as having landed at Rye, and temporarily settled at Winchelsea, from which place they had come across the country to Canterbury. Persecution had made these poor exiles very humble. All that they sought was freedom to worship and to labour. They had no thought but to pursue their several callings in peace and quiet — to bring up their children virtuously — and to lead a diligent, sober, and religious life, according to the dictates of their conscience. Men such as these are the salt of the earth at all times; yet they had been forced by a ruthless persecution from their homes, and driven forth as wanderers on the face of the earth.

In their memorial to the mayor and aldermen, in 1564, they set forth that they had, for the love of religion (which they earnestly desired to hold fast with a free conscience), relinquished their country and their worldly goods; and they humbly prayed that they might be permitted the free exercise of their religion within the city, and allowed the privilege of a temple to hold their worship in, together with a place of sepulture for their dead. They further requested that lest, under the guise of religion, profane and evil-minded men should seek to share in the privileges which they sought to obtain, none should be permitted to join them without giving satisfactory evidences of their probity of character. And, in order that the young persons belonging to their body might not remain untaught, they also asked permission to maintain a teacher, for the purpose of instructing them in the French tongue. Finally, they declared their intention of being industrious citizens, and of proceeding, under the favour and protection of the magistrates, to make Florence serges, bombazine, Orleans silk, bayes, mouquade, and other stuffs.

Canterbury was fortunate in being appealed to by these fugitives for an asylum — bringing with them, as they did, skill, industry, and character. The authorities at once cheerfully granted all that they asked, in the terms of their own memorial. The mayor and aldermen gave them permission to carry on their trades within the precincts of the city. At the same time, the liberal-minded Matthew Parker, then Archbishop of Canterbury, with the sanction of the queen, granted to the exiles the free use of the under croft of the Cathedral, where "the gentle and profitable strangers," as the archbishop styled them, not only celebrated their worship and taught their children, but set up their looms and carried on their industry.

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The Huguenot exiles remained unmolested in the exercise of their worship until the advent of Charles I. as King of England, and of Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury. An attempt was then made to compel the refugees, who were for the most part Calvinists, to conform to the Anglican ritual. The foreign congregations appealed to the

king, pleading the hospitality extended to them by the nation when they had fled from Papal persecution abroad, and the privileges and exemptions granted to them by Edward VI., which had been confirmed by Elizabeth and James, and even by Charles I. himself. The utmost concession that the king would grant was, that those who were born aliens might still enjoy the use of their own church service; but that all their children born in England should regularly attend the parish churches. Even this small concession was limited only to the congregation at Canterbury, and measures were taken to enforce conformity in the other dioceses.

The refugees thus found themselves exposed to an Anglican persecution, instead of a Papal one. Rather than endure it, several thousands of them left the country, abandoning their new homes, and again risking the loss of everything, in preference to giving up their views as to religion. About a hundred and forty families emigrated from Norwich into Holland, where the Dutch received them hospitably, and gave them house accommodation free, with exemption from taxes for seven years, during which they instructed the natives in the woollen manufacture, of which they had before been ignorant. But the greater number of the exiles emigrated with their families to North America, and swelled the numbers of the little colony already formed in Massachusetts Bay, which eventually laid the foundation of the New England States.

SAMUEL SMILES, *Huguenots in England and Ireland*, 124–126; 128–129.

Congenial Society: Skaneateles

In October Mr. Collins bought at Skaneateles a farm of three hundred and fifty acres for $15,000, paying $5000 down, and giving back a mortgage for the remainder. There was a good stone farm-house with barns and other buildings on the place. Mr. Collins gave a general invitation to join. One hundred and fifty responded to the call, and on the first of January, 1844, the Community was under way, and the first number of its organ, the *Communitist*, was given to the world.

The only document we find disclosing the fundamental principles of this Community is the following — which, however, was not ventilated in the *Communitist*, but found its way to the public through the *Skaneateles Columbian*, a neighbouring paper. We copy *verbatim:* —

Articles of Belief and Disbelief, and Creed prepared and read by John A. Collins, November 19, 1843.

"Beloved Friends: By your consent and advice, I am called upon to make choice of those among you to aid me in establishing in this place, a Community of property and interest, by which we may be brought into love relations, through which plenty and intelligence may be ultimately secured to all the inhabitants of this globe. To accomplish this great work there are but very few, in consequence of their original organization, structure of mind, education, habits, and preconceived opinions, who are at the present time adapted to work out this great problem of human redemption. All who come together for this purpose, should be united in thought and feeling on certain fundamental principles; for without this, a community of property would be but a farce. Therefore it may be said with great propriety that the success of the experiment will depend upon the wisdom exhibited in the choice of the materials as agents for its accomplishment.

"Without going into the detail of the principles upon which this Community is to be established, I will state briefly a few of the fundamental principles which I regard as essential to be assented to by every applicant for admission: —

"1. *Religion.* — A disbelief in any special revelation of God to man, touching his will, and thereby binding upon man as authority in any arbitrary sense; that all forms of worship should cease; that all religions of every age and nation, have their origin in the same great falsehood, viz., God's special Providences; that while we admire the precepts attributed to Jesus of Nazareth, we do not regard them as binding because uttered by him, but because they are true in themselves, and best adapted to promote the happiness of the race: therefore we regard the Sabbath as other days; the organized church as adapted to produce strife and contention rather than love and peace; the clergy as an imposition; the Bible as no authority; miracles as

unphilosophical; and salvation from sin, or from punishment in a future world, through a crucified God, as a remnant of heathenism.

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"6. *Dietetics.* — That a vegetable and fruit diet is essential to the health of the body, and purity of the mind, and the happiness of society; therefore, the killing and eating of animals is essentially wrong, and should be renounced as soon as possible, together with the use of all narcotics and stimulants.

"7. That all applicants shall, at the discretion of the Community, be put upon probation of three or six months.

"8. Any person who shall force himself or herself upon the Community, who has received no invitation from the Community, or who does not assent to the views above enumerated, shall not be treated or considered as a member of the Community; no work shall be assigned to him or her if solicited, while at the same time, he or she shall be regarded with the same kindness as all or any other strangers — shall be furnished with food and clothing; that if at any time any one shall dissent from any or all of the principles above, he ought at once, in justice to himself, to the Community, and to the world, to leave the Association. To these views we hereby affix our respective signatures."

J. H. Noyes, *American Socialisms*, 163–165, 166.

Congenial Society: A London Suburb

Hampstead is at present one of the largest and most prosperous of the well-to-do residential suburbs of London, being inhabited principally by city men, and sharing with St. John's Wood an influential colony of workers in art, science, and literature.

Charles Booth, *Labour and Life of the People*, Vol. II. 424–425.

Approbational Society: California

A Typical History of a Mining Camp in 1851–1852.

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Fortune has preserved to us from the pen of a very intelligent woman, who writes under an assumed name, a

marvellously skilful and undoubtedly truthful history of a mining community during a brief period, first of cheerful prosperity, and then of decay and disorder. The wife of a physician, and herself a well-educated New England woman, "Dame Shirley," as she chooses to call herself, was the right kind of witness to describe for us the social life of a mining camp from actual experience. This she did in the form of letters written on the spot to her own sister, and collected for publication some two or three years later.

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"Shirley" entered the mines with her husband in 1851, and passed the following winter, and the summer of 1852, at Rich Bar and Indian Bar successively, both of them busy camps, near together, on the North Fork of the Feather River. The climate agreed with her very well, and on the whole she seems to have endured the hardships of the life most cheerfully.

Rich Bar was, in September, 1851, when she first saw it, a town of one street, "thickly planted with about forty tenements"; tents, rag and wooden houses, plank hovels, log cabins. One hotel there was in it, the "Empire." Rich Bar had had, in its early days, a great reputation for its wealth, insomuch that during its first summer, it had suddenly made wealthy, then converted into drunken gamblers, and so utterly ruined, several hundred miners, all by giving them occasional returns of some hundreds of dollars to the panful. It had now entered into a second stage of more modestly prosperous and more steadily laborious life; it was a very orderly place, and was inhabited partly by American, partly by foreign miners. Some of the latter were South Americans. "Shirley" on her arrival found herself one of five women on the Bar; and was of course very pleasantly and respectfully treated by those miners whom she had occasion to know.

In the "Empire," the only two-story building in town, built originally as a gamblers' palace, but, by reason of the temporary industry and sobriety of the Bar, now converted into a very quiet hotel, "Shirley" found temporary lodgings. The hotel office was "fitted up with that eternal crimson calico, which flushes the whole social life of the 'Golden State' with its everlasting red." In this room

there was a bar, and a shop of miners' clothing and groceries. The "parlor" was behind this room, on the first floor: a room straw-carpeted, and furnished with a big mirror, a red-seated "sofa, fourteen feet long," a "round table with a green cloth, red calico curtains, a cooking-stove, a rocking-chair, and a woman and a baby, the latter wearing a scarlet frock to match the sofa and curtains." Upstairs were several bedrooms, with immense, heavy bedsteads, warped and uneven floors, purple calico linings on the walls, and red calico curtains. The whole house was very roughly and awkwardly pieced together by a careless carpenter, and cost its builders $8000. It was the great pride and ornament of the Camp.

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Among the miners, perfect good-humour prevailed on the Bar. On the anniversary of Chilian independence, Yankee miners walked fraternally in procession with the Chilians, every member of the procession "intensely drunk," and yet there seems to have been no quarrelling.

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Before October had fairly begun, she had moved with her husband to the neighboring Indian Bar, where he had many personal friends. The scenery here was wilder; but the society was much the same in its busy and peaceful joviality. Here were some twenty tents and cabins on the Bar itself; other houses were on the hill, the whole place evidently growing very fast; and other inhabited bars were near. The whole region was full of activity; dams, wing-dams, flumes, artificial ditches, were to be seen all about. "Shirley" now began to live in her own log cabin, which she found already hung with a gaudy chintz. The one hotel of Indian Bar was near her cabin, too near, in fact; for there much drinking, and music, with dancing (by men with men), went on. "Shirley" found and improvised very amusing furniture for her dwelling; trunks, claret-cases, three-legged stools, monte-table covers, and candle-boxes furnishing the materials for her ingenuity. In her little library she had a Bible, a prayer-book, Shakespeare, and Lowell's *Fable for Critics*, with two or three other books. The negro cook

of the hotel, who for some time did her own cooking as well, played finely on the violin when he chose, and was very courteous to "Shirley." She speaks of him often with infinite amusement. Prominent in the society of the Bar was a trapper, of the old Frémont party, who told blood-curdling tales of Indian fights; another character was a learned Quaker, who lectured at length to "Shirley" on literature, but never liked to listen to her on any subject, and told her as much very frankly. The camp had just become possessed also of a justice of the peace, a benevolent-looking fat man, with a big head, slightly bald, and a smooth fat face. He was genial and sweet-tempered, was commonly supposed to be incompetent, and had got himself elected by keeping both the coming election and his candidacy a secret, save from his friends. Most of the miners, when they came to hear of him and of his election, thought such an officer a nuisance in those diggings, as the camp could surely keep order without his help. But so long as he had nothing to do he was permitted to do it, and to be as great a man for his pains as he liked. Late in October, one case of supposed theft occurred, the trial taking place at Rich Bar, before a miners' meeting. The "Squire" was allowed to look on from the platform, while the improvised popular magistrate, sitting by his side, administered justice. The thief, as "Shirley" heard, was lightly flogged, and was then banished.

Not until December, however, was the general peace broken further. But then it was indeed broken by a decidedly barbarous case of hanging for theft. The "Squire" was powerless to affect the course of events; the "people" of Indian Bar, many of them drunken and full of disorderly desire for a frolic, tried the accused, whose guilt was certain enough, although his previous character had been fair; and, when he had been found guilty, the crowd hanged him in a very brutal fashion. He was himself drunken to the last moment. The more reckless people of the Bar were the ones concerned in this affair, and all "Shirley's" own friends disapproved of it.

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In March a man at a camp near by was stabbed in the back during a drunken frolic, and without any sort of

cause. Yet people took, at the time, no notice of the affair. In April a Mexican, at Indian Bar, asked an American for some money due the former. The American promptly stabbed his creditor; but again nothing was done. The Mexicans were, in fact, now too numerous for comfort at Indian Bar, since Rich Bar had just expelled all foreigners, who therefore now came to this place.

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The mining operations that summer were not a distinguished success at Indian Bar, and in autumn there was what miners call a "general stampede from those diggings." The physician and his wife took leave of the mines not unwillingly. "Shirley's" health, to be sure, had wonderfully improved. In closing her mining life she notices that "the few men that have remained on the Bar have amused themselves by prosecuting one another right and left." "The 'Squire,'" she adds, "comes out strong on these occasions."

JOSIAH ROYCE, *California*, 344–352, 355–356.

Despotic Society: Conquest of the Canaanites

And it came to pass after the death of Joshua, that the children of Israel asked of Jehovah, saying, Who shall go up for us first against the Canaanites, to fight against them? And Jehovah said, Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered the land into his hand. And Judah said unto Simeon his brother, Come up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites; and I likewise will go with thee into thy lot. So Simeon went with him. And Judah went up; and Jehovah delivered the Canaanites and the Perizzites into their hand: and they smote of them in Bezek ten thousand men. And they found Adoni-bezek in Bezek: and they fought against him, and they smote the Canaanites and the Perizzites. But Adoni-bezek fled; and they pursued after him, and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. And Adoni-bezek said, Threescore and ten kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered *their food* under my table: as I have done, so God hath requited me. And they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died there.

And the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire. And afterward the children of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites that dwelt in the hill country, and in the South, and in the lowland. And Judah went against the Canaanites that dwelt in Hebron: (now the name of Hebron beforetime was Kiriath-arba:) and they smote Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai. And from thence he went against the inhabitants of Debir. (Now the name of Debir beforetime was Kiriath-sepher.) And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. And Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. And it came to pass, when she came *unto him*, that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted down from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wouldst thou? And she said unto him, Give me a blessing; for that thou hast set me in the land of the South, give me also springs of water. And Caleb gave her the upper springs and the nether springs.

And the children of the Kenite, Moses' brother in law, went up out of the city of palm trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which is in the south of Arad; and they went and dwelt with the people. And Judah went with Simeon his brother, and they smote the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it. And the name of the city was called Hormah. Also Judah took Gaza with the border thereof, and Ashkelon with the border thereof, and Ekron with the border thereof. And Jehovah was with Judah; and he drove out *the inhabitants of* the hill country; for he could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron. And they gave Hebron unto Caleb, as Moses had spoken: and he drove out thence the three sons of Anak. And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem: but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem, unto this day.

And the house of Joseph, they also went up against Beth-el: and Jehovah was with them. And the house of

Joseph sent to spy out Beth-el. (Now the name of the city beforetime was Luz.) And the watchers saw a man come forth out of the city, and they said unto him, Show us, we pray thee, the entrance into the city, and we will deal kindly with thee. And he showed them the entrance into the city, and they smote the city with the edge of the sword; but they let the man go and all his family. And the man went into the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called the name thereof Luz: which is the name thereof unto this day.

And Manasseh did not drive *out the inhabitants of* Beth-shean and her towns, nor *of* Taanach and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns: but the Canaanites would dwell in that land. And it came to pass, when Israel was waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to task-work, and did not utterly drive them out.

And Ephraim drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them.

Zebulun drove not out the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt among them, and became tributary.

Asher drove not out the inhabitants of Acco, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob: but the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: for they did not drive them out.

Naphtali drove not out the inhabitants of Bethshemesh, nor the inhabitants of Beth-anath; but he dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: nevertheless the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and of Beth-anath became tributary unto them.

And the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the hill country: for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley: but the Amorites would dwell in mount Heres, in Aijalon, and in Shaalbim: yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributary. And the border of the Amorites was from the ascent of Akrabbim, from the rock, and upward.

Judges, Chap. i.

Despotic Society: Israel under the Judges

And the angel of Jehovah came up from Gilgal to Bochim. And he said, I made you to go up out of Egypt, and have brought you unto the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you: and ye shall make no covenant with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall break down their altars: but ye have not hearkened unto my voice: why have ye done this? Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be *as thorns* in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare unto you. And it came to pass, when the angel of Jehovah spake these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lifted up their voice, and wept. And they called the name of that place Bochim: and they sacrificed there unto Jehovah.

Now when Joshua had sent the people away, the children of Israel went every man unto his inheritance to possess the land. And the people served Jehovah all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great work of Jehovah, that he had wrought for Israel. And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Jehovah, died, being a hundred and ten years old. And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-heres, in the hill country of Ephraim, on the north of the mountain of Gaash. And also all that generation were gathered unto their fathers: and there arose another generation after them, that knew not Jehovah, nor yet the work which he had wrought for Israel.

And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, and served the Baalim: and they forsook Jehovah, the God of their fathers, who brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the peoples that were round about them, and bowed themselves down unto them: and they provoked Jehovah to anger. And they forsook Jehovah, and served Baal and the Ashtaroth. And the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold

them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies. Whithersoever they went out, the hand of Jehovah was against them for evil, as Jehovah had spoken, and as Jehovah had sworn unto them: and they were sore distressed. And Jehovah raised up judges, who saved them out of the hand of those that spoiled them. And yet they hearkened not unto their judges, for they played the harlot after other gods, and bowed themselves down unto them: they turned aside quickly out of the way wherein their fathers walked, obeying the commandments of Jehovah; *but* they did not so. And when Jehovah raised them up judges, then Jehovah was with the judge, and saved them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge: for it repented Jehovah because of their groaning by reason of them that oppressed them and vexed them. But it came to pass, when the judge was dead, that they turned back, and dealt more corruptly than their fathers, in following other gods to serve them, and to bow down unto them; they ceased not from their doings, nor from their stubborn way. And the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel; and he said, Because this nation have transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers, and have not hearkened unto my voice; I also will not henceforth drive out any from before them of the nations that Joshua left when he died: that by them I may prove Israel, whether they will keep the way of Jehovah to walk therein, as their fathers did keep it or not. So Jehovah left those nations, without driving them out hastily; neither delivered he them into the hand of Joshua.

Now these are the nations that Jehovah left, to prove Israel by them, even as many *of Israel* as had not known all the wars of Canaan; only that the generations of the children of Israel might know, to teach them war, at the least such as beforetime knew nothing thereof; *namely*, the five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Zidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in mount Lebanon, from mount Baal-hermon unto the entering in of Hamath. And they were to prove Israel by them, to know whether they would hearken unto the command-

ments of Jehovah, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses. And the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites; the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite: and they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons, and served their gods.

And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, and forgat Jehovah their God, and served the Baalim and the Asheroth. Therefore the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Cushan-rishathaim king of Mesopotamia: and the children of Israel served Cushan-rishathaim eight years. And when the children of Israel cried unto Jehovah, Jehovah raised up a saviour to the children of Israel, who saved them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother. And the spirit of Jehovah came upon him, and he judged Israel; and he went out to war, and Jehovah delivered Cushan-rishathaim king of Mesopotamia into his hand: and his hand prevailed against Cushan-rishathaim. And the land had rest forty years. And Othniel the son of Kenaz died.

And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah: and Jehovah strengthened Eglon the king of Moab against Israel, because they had done that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah. And he gathered unto him the children of Ammon and Amalek; and he went and smote Israel, and they possessed the city of palm trees. And the children of Israel served Eglon the king of Moab eighteen years. But when the children of Israel cried unto Jehovah, Jehovah raised them up a saviour, Ehud the son of Gera, the Benjamite, a man lefthanded: and the children of Israel sent a present by him unto Eglon the king of Moab. And Ehud made him a sword which had two edges, of a cubit length; and he girded it under his raiment upon his right thigh. And he offered the present unto Eglon king of Moab: now Eglon was a very fat man. And when he had made an end of offering the present, he sent away the people that bare the present. But he himself turned back from the quarries that were by Gilgal, and said, I have a secret errand unto thee, O king. And he said, Keep

silence. And all that stood by him went out from him. And Ehud came unto him; and he was sitting by himself alone in the cool upper room. And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose out of his seat. And Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the sword from his right thigh, and thrust it into his body: and the haft also went in after the blade; and the fat closed upon the blade, for he drew not the sword out of his body; and it came out behind. Then Ehud went forth into the porch, and shut the doors of the upper room upon him, and locked them. Now when he was gone out, his servants came; and they saw, and, behold, the doors of the upper room were locked; and they said, Surely he covereth his feet in the upper chamber. And they tarried till they were put to shame: and, behold, he opened not the doors of the upper room; therefore they took the key, and opened *them:* and, behold, their lord was fallen down dead on the earth. And Ehud escaped while they tarried, and passed beyond the quarries, and escaped unto Seirah.

And it came to pass, when he was come, that he blew a trumpet in the hill country of Ephraim, and the children of Israel went down with him from the hill country, and he before them. And he said unto them, Follow after me: for Jehovah hath delivered your enemies the Moabites into your hand. And they went down after him, and took the fords of Jordan against the Moabites, and suffered not a man to pass over.

And they smote of Moab at that time about ten thousand men, every lusty man, and every man of valour; and there escaped not a man. So Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel. And the land had rest fourscore years.

And after him was Shamgar the son of Anath, who smote of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox goad: and he also saved Israel.

Judges, Chaps. ii and iii.

Despotic Society: The Roman Empire under Constantine

The grateful applause of the clergy has consecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their passions and pro-

moted their interest. Constantine gave them security, wealth, honours, and revenge: and the support of the orthodox faith was considered as the most sacred and important duty of the civil magistrate. The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each individual of the Roman world the privilege of choosing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated: with the knowledge of truth, the Emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the sects which dissented from the Catholic church were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of Christianity. Constantine easily believed that the Heretics who presumed to dispute *his* opinions or to oppose *his* commands were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy; and that a seasonable application of moderate severities might save those unhappy men from the danger of an everlasting condemnation. Not a moment was lost in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregation from any share of the rewards and immunities which the Emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But, as the sectaries might still exist under the cloud of royal disgrace, the conquest of the East was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction. After a preamble filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibits the assemblies of the Heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use either of the revenue or of the Catholic church. The sects against whom the Imperial severity was directed appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosota; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who sternly rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Marcionites and Valentinians, under whose leading banners the various Gnostics of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied; and perhaps the Manichæans, who had recently imported from Persia a more artful composition of Oriental and Christian theology. The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the progress, of these odious Heretics was prosecuted with vigour and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same

bishops who had felt the hand of oppression and had pleaded for the rights of humanity.

GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II. 330–331.

Despotic Society: Norman England

The immediate changes which the conquest introduced were undoubtedly great, but they were practical rather than formal. The power of the Crown was vastly increased. As the government became more centralized, local self-government, the essential characteristic of our Teutonic Constitution, was for a time depressed; but only to arise again later on, when the nobles and people became united against the tyranny of the Crown. The social aspect of England was enormously changed. The old dynasty had been supplanted by an alien family. The old aristocracy was superseded by a new nobility. The old offices received new names — the ealdorman, or earl, became the *comes*, the sheriff the *vice-comes;* and with the new names and alien officials, the old laws, though retained, and even promulgated anew, must have been considerably modified in practical administration.

The most important result of the conquest, in its constitutional aspect, was the assimilation of all the institutions of the country, from the highest to the lowest, to the feudal type. This was a consequence of the immense confiscations of landed estates, which, occurring not all at once, but from time to time ultimately placed King William in the position of supreme landowner, and established the feudal system in England.

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At first the Conqueror, with an appearance of strict legality, appropriated merely the extensive royal domains — the *folkland*, now finally changed into *terra regis* — and the large forfeited estates of the Godwin family and of all those who had, or were suspected of having, taken up arms against him. Reserving to himself as the demesne of the Crown more than fourteen hundred large manors scattered over various counties, he divided the rest among his companions in arms. Although William affected to regard all

Englishmen as more or less tainted with treason and liable to forfeiture of their estates, inasmuch as they had either fought against him or failed to range themselves on his side, yet the bulk of the landowners were at first suffered to retain their possessions. But there is reason to believe that this was subject to the condition of accepting a regrant from the Conqueror; the more important personages, in return for their adhesion, receiving back their estates as a free gift, the smaller owners on payment of a money consideration. By this means William procured a peaceable acknowledgment of his title over extensive districts into which his arms had not yet penetrated.

During the Conqueror's first absence from England a reaction set in after the panic; and the oppression and insolence of the Normans, Odo of Bayeux and William Fitz Osbern, who had been left in charge of the kingdom as justices regent, excited the natives to rebel. One rising was no sooner suppressed than others broke out in different parts of the kingdom, and the first four years of his reign were occupied by William in acquiring the actual sovereignty of his new dominions. Each insurrection, as it occurred, was followed by a confiscation of the estates of those who in the eye of the law were rebels, however patriotic and morally justifiable may have been the motives by which they were actuated. Thus, by a gradual process and with an outward show of legality, nearly all the lands of the kingdom came into the hands of the King, and were by him granted out to his Norman nobles, to be held by the feudal tenure, to which they were alone accustomed in their own country. The maxim of later times, "*Tout fuit en lui et vient de lui al commencement*," seems to have been something more than a fiction. At the time of the Domesday Survey there still remained some few exceptions to the general feudal tenure, but before the accession of Henry I. all tenures seem to have become uniformly feudal.

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Both in the kingdom of France and in his own duchy of Normandy, William had been familiar with the evils of feudalism as there established. His recollection of contests with his own barons was too keen and too recent not

to induce him to prevent, if possible, a recurrence of the struggle in his newly acquired kingdom. From the very first he took measures to check the natural development of feudalism in England; and although by gradually substituting the Frankish system of land tenure for the complicated system which had grown up in England, he may be said to have established the feudal system, it was as a system of tenure only, not of government organization. He was determined to reign as the King of the nation, not merely as feudal lord. While, therefore, availing himself of all the advantages of the feudal system, he broke into its "most essential attribute, the exclusive dependence of a vassal upon his lord," by requiring in accordance with the old English practice, that all landowners, mesne tenants as well as tenants-in-chief, should take the oath of fealty to the King. This was formally decreed at the celebrated Gemot held on Salisbury Plain, on the 1st of August, 1086, at which the witan and all the landowners of substance in England, whose vassals soever they were, attended, to the number, as is reported, of sixty thousand. The statute, as soon as passed, was carried into immediate effect, and all the landowners (*landsittende men*) became "this man's men," and "swore him oaths of allegiance that they would against all other men be faithful to him."

This national act of homage and allegiance to the King, which, far from marking the formal acceptance of feudalism, as some have contended, was, in reality, anti-feudal, followed immediately upon the compilation of the Domesday Survey, which had been decreed in the memorable midwinter Gemot of Gloucester, 1085–1086.

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In addition to his exaction of homage from the subtenants, William took other effective measures to keep the great feudatories in check. The lordships which he bestowed upon his principal barons were scattered over the kingdom, so that in no one district should the territories of one man be great enough to tempt him to rebellion. An unforeseen but very important result of this arrangement was the necessity under which the nobles found themselves of combining with one another, and ultimately of seeking the help of the people, in order to resist the royal power.

"Thus the Old English parliamentary instincts which the Conquest for a while checked were again awakened and strengthened." William abolished the great earldoms which had threatened the integrity of the kingdom under Edward, and, reverting to the earlier English practice, restricted the jurisdiction of the earl to a single shire. The government of the shire — judicial, military, and financial — was, moreover, practically executed by the sheriff, who was directly responsible to the King. An apparent exception to the general policy pursued by the Conqueror occurs in the creation of the three palatine counties of Chester, Durham, and Kent. The extraordinary powers thus conferred were, however, requisite for the defence of the kingdom against attacks from Wales, Scotland, and the Continent respectively, and two of the persons intrusted with them were ecclesiastics, who could not become the founders of families. A further check to the power of the baronage resulted from the maintenance in full vigour of the popular courts of the Shire and the Hundred, by which the private manorial jurisdictions of the nobles were restrained, as far as possible, within narrow limits.

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Tenure by knight-service was also subject to several other incidents of a burdensome character, the unfair and oppressive exactions of which by the Norman and earlier Angevin kings supplied one of the chief incentives to the barons who wrested the Great Charter from King John. These incidental burdens were:—

1. The tenant was at first expected, and afterward obliged, to render to his immediate lord certain contributions termed *aids*. These, which were to be reasonable in amount, were due on three special occasions — to ransom the lord's person from captivity; to make his eldest son a knight; and to provide a suitable portion for his eldest daughter on her marriage. The Stat. of Westminster I. (3 Edw. I.) fixed the reasonable aid at 20*s.* for every knight's fee, and for every £20 value of land in socage.

2. On the death of the tenant, his fief descended to his heir, sons being preferred to daughters, and the elder to the younger son. But before taking up his ancestor's estate, the heir, if of age, had to pay a fine called a *relief*,

which closely resembled and was apparently a feudalized form of the ancient English Heriot. By demanding arbitrary and exorbitant reliefs the Norman kings, William Rufus especially, often obliged the heir in effect to purchase or *redeem* his lands. This abuse was specially provided against in the Charter of Henry I., in which the King promised to exact, and required his tenants to exact from their under tenants, only the accustomed and legal reliefs. Glanvill, in the reign of Henry II., tells us that the reasonable relief for a knight's fee was 100*s*., but that the sum due for a barony varied *juxta voluntatem et misericordiam domini regis*. The amount was not finally fixed till Magna Charta defined the *antiquum relevium* as £100 for a barony, 100*s*. for a knight's fee.

Tenants-in-chief were subject to a kind of additional relief termed *primer seisin*, which consisted in the right of the King, on the death of one of his tenants leaving an heir of full age, to receive one year's profits of the inherited land.

3. If the heir were under age, the lord was entitled, under the name of *wardship*, to the custody of his body and lands, without any account of the profits. At the age of twenty-one in males, and sixteen in females, the wards were entitled to *ousterlemain* or "sue out their livery" — that is, to require delivery of their lands out of their guardian's hands, on payment of half a year's profits in lieu of all reliefs and primer seisins.

4. The lord also possessed the right of disposing of his female wards in marriage. The rejection by the ward of a suitable match incurred the forfeiture of a sum of money equal to the value of the marriage — that is, as much as the suitor was willing to pay down to the lord as the price of the alliance. If the ward presumed to marry without the lord's consent, she forfeited double the market value of the marriage. This right, which applied not only to female wards, but to daughters who were the presumptive heirs of living vassals, was originally intended as a security against the lord being obliged to receive the homage of a hostile or otherwise objectionable tenant; but it was afterwards, without any feudal justification, extended to male wards, and used as a lucrative source of extortion both by the Crown and mesne lords.

5. The right of devising land by will ceased (with a few local exceptions) at the Conquest, and for some time afterwards the freedom of alienation *inter vivos*, which had existed in Anglo-Saxon times, seems to have been limited by certain restrictions in favor of the heir. Indirectly, however, alienation of portions of fiefs was effected through the medium of sub-infeudation, a process which, by the time of Henry II., had been most extensively applied throughout the country. By this time also the ancestor appears to have acquired a limited right to defeat the expectation of his heir. Subsequently by the Statute of *Quia Emptores* (18 Edw. I. c. 1) sub-infeudation was forbidden, and every freeman was allowed to aliene his land at pleasure (except by will) to be held not of the alienor, but of the lord of whom the alienor had immediately held. All tenants-in-chief, however, still required a license from the King before they could aliene, for which a fine was, of course, demanded. By a statute of Edward III. the necessity for a license was done away with, and tenants-in-chief were allowed to aliene at will, on payment of a reasonable fine to the king.

6. Lastly, there was the valuable right of *escheat*, by which, on the determination of the tenant's estate, — either on failure of legal heirs (*propter defectum sanguinis*), or on conviction of the actual tenant of felony or treason (*propter delictum tenentis*), — the fief reverted to the lord by whom or by whose ancestors it had been originally granted. Independently of escheat, the lands of a convicted felon were also liable to *forfeiture* to the Crown (which intercepted the escheat to the mesne lord) — in the case of treason, forever; in other felonies for a year and a day.

T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 50–53, 56–59, 61–65.

Authoritative Society: Ancient Egypt

Teach (the people) to render homage to a great man. If thou dost gather the harvest for him among men, cause it to return in its entirety to its owner, at whose hands thou findest thy subsistence. (But) the gift of affection is of more value than the offerings (themselves), with which thy back is covered. For what he receives from thee will

be life to thy house, without speaking of the consideration which thou enjoyest, (and) which thou desirest to preserve; (it is) by this he extends a beneficent hand, and that in thy house good things are added to the good. Let the love which thou feelest pass into the heart of those who love thee. Act that the people may be loving and obedient.

* * * * * * *

If thou art a son of one of the guardians deputed to watch over the public tranquillity, execute (thy orders) without comprehending (understanding them?). Speak firmly. Do not substitute for what the instructor has said (what thou believest to be) his intention; the great use words as are agreeable (to them). Thy part is that of transmitter, rather than of judge.

The Book of Ptah Hotep, in the *Oldest Books in the World*, edited by ISAAC MEYER, 86, 87.

Authoritative Society: France under Catherine

The Queen-Mother at once declared it impossible for two religions to exist side by side in France. The Catholics were clearly the stronger party; the Edict of January must go. Condé then made a last offer. If the Edict were allowed to stand, he and the other leaders, as soon as the Guises had left the court, would quit France altogether and remain abroad until they should be recalled. Somewhat to their surprise, Catharine closed with this proposal.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III. 2.

Authoritative Society: England under the Tudors

A proclamation had been issued in 1547 by Henry VIII., "that all women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses." The conduits and dipping places in running streams were the places of constant resort of the gossips.

After a presentment at the Manorial Court of Seaborough, near Crewkerne, in 1486, two women were fined a penny each as *common scolds*. At the same time an order was made that the *tenants* of the manor should not *scold*

their wives under pain of forfeiting their tenements and cottages. Not fifty years afterwards an order was made that tenants' *wives* should not scold under pain of 6*s*., one-half to go to the repairs of the chapel, and the other half to the lord of the manor.

In the parish book of Axminster is an item (1675): "For a warrant to ly against the scoulds, 1*s*." The evil must have become no longer endurable.

The long church porch of Lyme contained one part of the dreaded CUCKING-STOOL, ready for the correction of certain offenders. Sundry entries are here given to prove that this branch of borough discipline was not neglected.

Cucking is a corruption of *coquine*, so that cucking-stool is that for troublesome, noisy women.

In 1608, a woman was ordered to leave the town of Southampton, who had been guilty of slander, and when a few days later it was discovered that she had not gone away and had repeated the offence, she was condemned to be set in a cage with a paper before her.

Scolds used to be punished at Leicester by the mayor on a cuck-stool before their doors, and then carried to the four gates of the town.

G. ROBERTS, *Social History of the Southern Counties of England*, 154–155.

Conspiritual Society: Conspiracy of Abimelech

And Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal went to Shechem unto his mother's brethren, and spake with them, and with all the family of the house of his mother's father, saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, Whether is better for you, that all the sons of Jerubbaal, who are threescore and ten persons, rule over you, or that one rule over you? remember also that I am your bone and your flesh.

And his mother's brethren spake of him in the ears of all the men of Shechem all these words: and their hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for they said, He is our brother. And they gave him threescore and ten *pieces* of silver out of the house of Baal-berith, wherewith Abimelech hired vain and light fellows, that followed him.

And he went unto his father's house at Ophrah, and slew his brethren the sons of Jerubbaal, being threescore and ten persons, upon one stone: but Jotham the youngest son of Jerubbaal was left; for he hid himself.

And all the men of Shechem assembled themselves together, and all the house of Millo, and went and made Abimelech king, by the oak of the pillar that was in Shechem. And when they told it to Jotham, he went and stood in the top of mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice, and cried, and said unto them, Hearken unto me, ye men of Shechem, that God may hearken unto you. The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us.

But the olive tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to wave to and fro over the trees? And the trees said to the fig tree, Come thou, and reign over us. But the fig tree said unto them, Should I leave my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to wave to and fro over the trees? And the trees said unto the vine, Come thou, and reign over us. And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my new wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to wave to and fro over the trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou, and reign over us. And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and take refuge in my shade: and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon. Now therefore, if ye have dealt truly and uprightly, in that ye have made Abimelech king, and if ye have dealt well with Jerubbaal and his house, and have done unto him according to the deserving of his hands; (for my father fought for you, and adventured his life, and delivered you out of the hand of Midian: and ye are risen up against my father's house this day, and have slain his sons, threescore and ten persons, upon one stone, and have made Abimelech, the son of his maid-servant, king over the men of Shechem, because he is your brother;) if ye then have dealt truly and uprightly with Jerubbaal and with his house this day, then rejoice ye in Abimelech, and let him also rejoice in you: but if not, let fire come out

from Abimelech, and devour the men of Shechem, and the house of Millo; and let fire come out from the men of Shechem, and from the house of Millo, and devour Abimelech. And Jotham ran away, and fled, and went to Beer, and dwelt there, for fear of Abimelech his brother.

And Abimelech was prince over Israel three years. And God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech: that the violence done to the threescore and ten sons of Jerubbaal might come, and that their blood might be laid upon Abimelech their brother, who slew them, and upon the men of Shechem, who strengthened his hands to slay his brethren. And the men of Shechem set liers in wait for him on the tops of the mountains, and they robbed all that came along that way by them: and it was told Abimelech.

And Gaal the son of Ebed came with his brethren, and went over to Shechem: and the men of Shechem put their trust in him. And they went out into the field, and gathered their vineyards, and trode *the grapes*, and held festival, and went into the house of their god, and did eat and drink, and cursed Abimelech. And Gaal the son of Ebed said, Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? is not he the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul his officer? serve ye the men of Hamor the father of Shechem: but why should we serve him? And would to God this people were under my hand! then would I remove Abimelech. And he said to Abimelech, Increase thine army, and come out. And when Zebul the ruler of the city heard the words of Gaal the son of Ebed, his anger was kindled. And he sent messengers unto Abimelech craftily, saying, Behold, Gaal the son of Ebed and his brethren are come to Shechem; and, behold, they constrain the city *to take part* against thee. Now therefore, up by night, thou and the people that is with thee, and lie in wait in the field: and it shall be, that in the morning, as soon as the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and rush upon the city: and, behold, when he and the people that is with him come out against thee, then mayest thou do to them as thou shalt find occasion.

And Abimelech rose up, and all the people that were with him, by night, and they laid wait against Shechem in four companies. And Gaal the son of Ebed went out, and stood in the entering of the gate of the city: and Abimelech rose up, and the people that were with him, from the ambushment. And when Gaal saw the people, he said to Zebul, Behold, there come people down from the tops of the mountains. And Zebul said unto him, Thou seest the shadow of the mountains as if they were men. And Gaal spake again and said, See, there come people down by the middle of the land, and one company cometh by the way of the oak of Meonenim. Then said Zebul unto him, Where is now thy mouth, that thou saidst, Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him? is not this the people that thou hast despised? go out now, I pray, and fight with them. And Gaal went out before the men of Shechem, and fought with Abimelech. And Abimelech chased him, and he fled before him, and there fell many wounded, even unto the entering of the gate. And Abimelech dwelt at Arumah: and Zebul drove out Gaal and his brethren, that they should not dwell in Shechem. And it came to pass on the morrow, that the people went out into the field; and they told Abimelech. And he took the people, and divided them into three companies, and laid wait in the field; and he looked, and, behold, the people came forth out of the city; and he rose up against them and smote them. And Abimelech, and the companies that were with him, rushed forward, and stood in the entering of the gate of the city: and the two companies rushed upon all that were in the field, and smote them. And Abimelech fought against the city all that day; and he took the city, and slew the people that was therein: and he beat down the city, and sowed it with salt.

And when all the men of the tower of Shechem heard thereof, they entered into the stronghold of the house of Elberith. And it was told Abimelech that all the men of the tower of Shechem were gathered together. And Abimelech gat him up to mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with him; and Abimelech took an axe in his hand, and cut down a bough from the

trees, and took it up, and laid it on his shoulder: and he said unto the people that were with him, What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have done. And all the people likewise cut down every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the stronghold, and set the stronghold on fire upon them; so that all the men of the tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women.

Then went Abimelech to Thebez, and encamped against Thebez, and took it. But there was a strong tower within the city, and thither fled all the men and women, and all they of the city, and shut themselves in, and gat them up to the roof of the tower. And Abimelech came unto the tower, and fought against it, and drew near unto the door of the tower to burn it with fire. And a certain woman cast an upper millstone upon Abimelech's head, and brake his skull. Then he called hastily unto the young man his armour-bearer, and said unto him, Draw thy sword, and kill me, that men say not of me, A woman slew him. And his young man thrust him through, and he died. And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they departed every man unto his own place. Thus God requited the wickedness of Abimelech, which he did unto his father, in slaying his seventy brethren: and all the wickedness of the men of Shechem did God requite upon their heads: and upon them came the curse of Jotham the son of Jerubbaal.

Judges, chap. ix.

Conspiritual Society: Conspiracy of Peisistratos

Of these races then Crœsus was informed that the Athenian was held subject and torn with faction by Peisistratos the son of Hippocrates, who then was despot of the Athenians. For to Hippocrates, when as a private citizen he went to view the Olympic games, a great marvel had occurred. After he had offered the sacrifice, the caldrons which were standing upon the hearth, full of pieces of flesh and water, boiled without fire under them and ran over. And Chilon the Lacedemonian, who chanced to

have been present and to have seen the marvel, advised Hippocrates first not to bring into his house a wife to bear him children, and secondly, if he happened to have one already, to dismiss her, and if he chanced to have a son, to disown him. When Chilon had thus recommended, Hippocrates, they say, was not willing to be persuaded, and so there was born to him afterwards this Peisistratos; who, when the Athenians of the shore were at feud with those of the plain, Megacles the son of Alcmaion being leader of the first faction, and Lycurgos the son of Aristolaïdes of that of the plain, aimed at the despotism for himself and gathered a third party. So then, after having collected supporters and called himself leader of the men of the mountain-lands, he contrived a device as follows: he inflicted wounds upon himself and upon his mules, and then drove his car into the market-place, as if he had just escaped from his opponents, who, as he alleged, had desired to kill him when he was driving into the country; and he asked the commons that he might obtain some protection from them, for before this he had gained reputation in his command against the Megarions, during which he took Nisaia and performed other signal service. And the commons of the Athenians, being deceived, gave him those men, chosen from the dwellers in the city, who became not indeed the spearmen of Peisistratos, but his clubmen; for they followed behind him bearing wooden clubs. And these made insurrection with Peisistratos and obtained possession of the Acropolis. Then Peisistratos was ruler of the Athenians, not having disturbed the existing magistrates nor changed the ancient laws; but he administered the State under that constitution of things which was already established, ordering it fairly and well.

HERODOTUS, *History* — Translated by G. C. MACAULAY, Vol. I. 26–27.

Conspiritual Society: Conspiracies of Catiline

How a conspiracy was formed in Rome by Catiline and his followers.

At the time when Rome was still ruled by the government of consuls, in the year 680 from the foundation of

the said city, Mark Tully Cicero and Caius Antony being consuls, and Rome in great and happy state and lordship, Catiline, a very noble citizen, descended by birth from the royal house of Tarquin, being a man of dissolute life, but brave and daring in arms and a fine orator, but not wise, being envious of the good and rich and wise men who ruled the city, their lordship not being pleasing to him, formed a conspiracy with many other nobles and other followers disposed to evil-doing, and purposed to slay the consuls and part of the senators, and to destroy their office, and to overrun the city, robbing and setting fire to many parts thereof, and to make himself ruler thereof; and this he would have done had it not been warded off by the wit and foresight of the wise consul, Mark Tully. So he defended the city from such ruin, and found out the said conspiracy and treason; but because of the greatness and power of the said Catiline, and because Tully was a new citizen in Rome, his father having come from Capua or from some other town of the Campagna, he did not dare to have Catiline seized or to bring him to justice, as his misdeeds required; but by his great wit and fine speech he caused him to depart from the city; but many of his fellow-conspirators and companions, from among the greatest citizens, and even of the order of senators, who abode still in Rome after Catiline's departure, he caused to be seized, and to be strangled in prison, so that they died, as the great scholar, Sallust, relates in due order.

How Catiline caused the city of Fiesole to rebel against the city of Rome.

Catiline having departed from Rome, with part of his followers came into Tuscany, where Manlius, one of his principal fellow-conspirators, who was captain, had gathered his people in the ancient city of Fiesole, and Catiline being come thither, he caused the said city to rebel against the lordship of the Romans, assembling all the rebels and exiles from Rome and from many other provinces, with lewd folk disposed for war and for ill-doing, and he began fierce war with the Romans. The Romans, hearing this, decreed that Caius Antony, the consul, and Publius Petreius, with an army of horse and many foot, should march into Tuscany against the city of Fiesole and against Catiline;

and they sent by them letters and messengers to Quintus Metellus, who was returning from France with a great host of the Romans, that he should likewise come with his force from the other side to the siege of Fiesole, and to pursue Catiline and his followers.

How Catiline and his followers were discomfited by the Romans in the plain of Piceno.

Now when Catiline heard that the Romans were coming to besiege him in the city of Fiesole, and that Antony and Petreius were already with their host in the plain of Fiesole, upon the bank of the river Arno, and how that Metellus was already in Lombardy with his host of three legions which were coming from France, and the succour which he was expecting from his allies which had remained in Rome had failed him, he took counsel not to shut himself up in the city of Fiesole, but to go into France; and therefore he departed from that city with his people and with a lord of Fiesole who was called Fiesolanus, and he had his horses' shoes reversed, to the end that when they departed the hoof prints of the horses might show as if folk had entered into Fiesole, and not sallied forth thence, to cause the Romans to tarry near the city, that he might depart thence the more safely. And having departed by night, to avoid Metellus, he did not hold the direct road through the mountains which we call the Alps of Bologna, but took the plain by the side of the mountains, and came where to-day is the city of Pistoia, in the place called Campo Piceno, that was below where to-day is the fortress of Piteccio, purposing to cross the Apennine Mountains by that way, and descend thence into Lombardy; but Antony and Petreius, hearing of his departure, straightway followed after him with their host along the plain, so that they overtook him in the said place, and Metellus, on the other hand, set guards at the passes of the mountains, to the end he might not pass thereby. Catiline, seeing himself to be thus straitened, and that he could not avoid the battle, gave himself and his followers to the chances of combat with great courage and boldness, in the which battle there was great slaughter of Romans from the city and of rebel Romans and of Fiesolans; at the end of which fierce battle Catiline was defeated and slain in that place of Piceno

with all his followers; and the field remained to the Romans but with such dolorous victory that the said two consuls, with twenty horse, who alone escaped, did not care to return to Rome. The which thing could not gain credence with the Romans till the senators sent thither to learn the truth; and, this known, there was the greatest sorrow thereat in Rome. And he who desires to see this history more fully, let him read the book of Sallust called *Catilinarius*. The injured and wounded of Catiline's people who had escaped death in the battle, albeit they were but few, withdrew where is to-day the city of Pistoia, and there in vile habitations became the first inhabitants thereof, whilst their wounds were healing. And afterwards, by reason of the good situation and fruitful soil, the inhabitants thereof increased, which afterwards built the city of Pistoia, and by reason of the great mortality and pestilence which was near that place, both of their people and of the Romans, they gave it the name of Pistoia; and therefore it is not to be marvelled at if the Pistoians have been and are a fierce and cruel people in war among themselves and against others, being descended from the race of Catiline and from the remnants of such people as his, discomfited and wounded in battle.

VILLANI, *Croniche Florentine* — selections, translated by SELFE and WICKSTEED, 18–21.

Conspiritual Society: Ghibelline Refugees

How the Ghibelline refugees from Florence prepared to deceive the commonwealth and people of Florence, and caused them to be betrayed.

The Florentine refugees, by whose embassy and deed King Manfred had sent Count Giordano with eight hundred German horsemen, thought within themselves that they had done nothing if they could not draw the Florentines out into the field, inasmuch as the aforesaid Germans were not paid save for three months, and already more than one month and a half of this had passed, since their coming, nor had they more money wherewith to pay them, nor did they look for any from Manfred; and should the time for which they had been paid pass by without having

done aught, they would return into Apulia, to the great peril of the state. They reasoned that this could not be contrived without skill and subtlety of war, which business was committed to M. Farinata degli Uberti and M. Gherardo Ciccia de' Lamberti. These subtly chose out two wise minor friars as their messengers to the people of Florence, and first caused them to confer with nine of the most powerful men of Siena, who made endless show to the said friars that the government of Messer Provenzano Salvini was displeasing to them, who was the greatest of the citizens of Siena, and that they would willingly yield up the city to the Florentines in return for ten thousand florins of gold, and that they were to come with a great host, under guise of fortifying Montalcino, as far as the river Arbia; and then they with their own forces, and with those of their followers, would give up to the Florentines the gate of Santo Vito, which is on the road to Arezzo. The friars, under this deceit and treachery, came to Florence with letters and seals from the aforesaid, and were brought before the Ancients of the people, and proposed to them means whereby they might do great things for the honour of the people and commonwealth of Florence; but the thing was so secret that it must under oath be revealed to but few. Then the Ancients chose from among themselves Spedito di Porte San Piero, a man of great vigour and boldness, and one of the principal leaders of the people, and with him Messer Gianni Calcagni, of Vaccherecia; and when they had sworn upon the altar, the friars unfolded the said plot, and showed the said letters. The said two Ancients, who showed more eagerness than judgment, gave faith to the plot; and immediately the said ten thousand golden florins were procured, and were deposited, and a council was assembled of magnates and people, and they represented that of necessity it behooved to send a host to Siena to strengthen Montalcino, greater than the one sent in May last to Santa Petronella. The nobles of the great Guelf houses of Florence, and Count Guido Guerra, which was with them, not knowing of the pretended plot, and knowing more of war than the popolani did, being aware of the new body of German troops which was come to Siena, and of the sorry

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show which the people made at Santa Petronella when the hundred Germans attacked them, considered the enterprise not to be without great peril. And also esteeming the citizens to be divided in mind, and ill disposed to raise another host, they gave wise counsel, that it were best that the host should not go forth at present, for the reasons aforesaid; and also they showed how for little cost Montalcino could be fortified, and how the men of Orvieto were prepared to fortify it, and alleged that the said Germans had pay only for three months, and had already served for half the time, and by giving them play enough, without raising a host, shortly they would be scattered, and would return into Apulia; and the Sienese and the Florentine refugees would be left in worse plight than they were before. And the spokesman for them all was M. Tegghiaio Aldobrandi degli Adimari, a wise knight and valiant in arms, and of great authority, and he counselled the better course in full. His counsel ended, the aforesaid Spedito, the Ancient, a very presumptuous man, rudely replied, bidding him to look to his breeches if he was afraid; and M. Tegghiaio replied that at the pinch he would not dare to follow him into the battle where he would lead; and these words ended, next uprose M. Cece de Gherardini to say the same that Messer Tegghiaio had said. The Ancients commanded him not to speak, and the penalty was one hundred pounds if any one held forth contrary to the command of the Ancients. The knight was willing to pay it, so that he might oppose the going; but the Ancients would not have it, rather they made the penalty double; again he desired to pay, and so it reached three hundred pounds; and when he yet wanted to speak and to pay, the command was that his head should be forfeit; and there it stopped. But, through the proud and heedless people, the worse counsel won the day, that the said host should proceed immediately and without delay.

VILLANI, *Croniche Florentine* — selections, translated by SELFE and WICKSTEED, 174–177.

Conspiritual Society: Criminal Conspiracies in the Reign of Richard II

The 2 Richard II. cap. 6, recites that the king hath perceived, as well by complaints made to him as by his own knowledge, "that divers of his liege people in sundry parts of this realm, as also the people of Wales, in the County of Hereford, and the people of the County of Chester, with the counties adjoining, some of them claiming to have right to divers lands, tenements, and other possessions, and some espying women and damsels unmarried, and some desiring to make maintainence in their marches, do gather them together to a great number of men-at-arms and archers in the manner of war, and confederate themselves by oath and other confederacy, not having consideration to God nor to the laws of Holy Church, nor of the land, nor to right nor justice; but, refusing and setting apart all process of the law, do ride in great routs in divers parts of England, and take possession and fix themselves within divers manors, lands, and other possessions, of their own authority, and hold the same with such force, doing there many apparelments of war; and in some places do ravish women and damsels, and bring them into strange countries, where please them; and in some places lying in wait with such routs, do beat and maim, murder and slay the people, for to have their wives and their goods, and the same women and goods retain to their own use; and sometimes take the king's liege people in their houses and bring and hold them as prisoners, and at the last bring them to fine and ransom, as it were in a land of war; and sometimes come before the justices in their sessions in such guise with great force, whereby the justices be afraid, and not hardy to do the law; and do many other riots and horrible offences, whereby the realm is put in great trouble," etc. For remedy of which evils, and desiring above all things the peace and quietness of the realm, and that the good laws and customs thereof be kept and maintained in all points, and offenders duly punished, it is ordained by the King, with the assent of Parliament, "that none be so hardy from henceforth as

to do anything that shall be in affray of the people or against the peace." And it is further ordained, "that certain sufficient and valiant persons, lords, and others, shall be assigned by the King's commission in every county, which shall have power, as soon as they know or be credibly certified of any assemblies, routs, or riotings, of offenders, barratours, and other such rioters, in affray of the people and against the peace, to arrest them incontinent without tarrying for indictments or other process of law, especially the chieftains and leaders of such routs, and send them to the next gaol, with the cause of their arrest clearly put in writing, there to abide till the coming of the justices into the country, without being delivered in the meantime by mainprise, bail, or other manner."

SIR G. NICHOLLS, *History of the English Poor Law*, Vol. I. 49-50.

Contractual Society: The League of the Iroquois

When the confederacy was formed, about A.D. 1400–1450, the conditions previously named were present. The Iroquois were in five independent tribes, occupied territories contiguous to each other, and spoke dialects of the same language which were mutually intelligible. Beside these facts certain gentes were common in the several tribes as has been shown. In their relations to each other, as separated parts of the same gens, these common gentes afforded a natural and enduring basis for a confederacy. With these elements existing, the formation of a confederacy became a question of intelligence and skill. Other tribes in large numbers were standing in precisely the same relations in different parts of the continent without confederating. The fact that the Iroquois tribes accomplished the work affords evidence of their superior capacity. Moreover, as the confederacy was the ultimate stage of organization among the American aborigines its existence would be expected in the most intelligent tribes only.

It is affirmed by the Iroquois that the confederacy was formed by a council of wise men and chiefs of the five tribes which met for that purpose on the north shore of Onondaga Lake, near the site of Syracuse; and that be-

fore its session was concluded the organization was perfected, and set in immediate operation. At their periodical councils for raising up sachems they still explain its origin as the result of one protracted effort of legislation. It was probably a consequence of a previous alliance for mutual defence, the advantages of which they had perceived and which they sought to render permanent.

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The Iroquois affirm that the confederacy as formed by this council, with its powers, functions, and mode of administration, has come down to them through many generations to the present time with scarcely a change in its internal organization. When the Tuscaroras were subsequently admitted, their sachems were allowed by courtesy to sit as equals in the general council, but the original number of sachems was not increased, and in strictness those of the Tuscaroras formed no part of the ruling body.

The general features of the Iroquois Confederacy may be summarized in the following propositions: —

I. The Confederacy was a union of Five Tribes, composed of common gentes, under one government on the basis of equality; each Tribe remaining independent in all matters pertaining to local self-government.

II. It created a General Council of Sachems, who were limited in number, equal in rank and authority, and invested with supreme powers over all matters pertaining to the Confederacy.

III. Fifty Sachemships were created and named in perpetuity in certain gentes of the several Tribes; with power in these gentes to fill vacancies, as often as they occurred, by election from among their respective members, and with the further power to depose from office for cause; but the right to invest these Sachems with office was reserved to the General Council.

IV. The Sachems of the Confederacy were also Sachems in their respective Tribes, and with the Chiefs of these Tribes formed the Council of each, which was supreme over all matters pertaining to the Tribe exclusively.

V. Unanimity in the Council of the Confederacy was made essential to every public act.

VI. In the General Council the Sachems voted by Tribes, which gave to each Tribe a negative upon the others.

VII. The Council of each Tribe had power to convene the General Council; but the latter had no power to convene itself.

VIII. The General Council was open to the orators of the people for the discussion of public questions; but the Council alone decided.

IX. The Confederacy had no chief Executive Magistrate, or official head.

X. Experiencing the necessity for a General Military Commander they created the office in a dual form, that one might neutralize the other. The two principal War-Chiefs created were made equal in powers.

LEWIS H. MORGAN, *Ancient Society*, 126–129.

Contractual Society: Connecticut

Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Allmighty God by the wise disposition of his diuine pruidence so to Order and dispose of things that we the Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor, Harteford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and vppon the River of Conectecotte and the Lands thereunto adioyneing; And well knowing where a people are gathered togather the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and vnion of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Gouerment established according to God, to order and dispose of the affayres of the people at all seasons as occation shall require; doe therefore assotiate and conioyne our selues to be as one Publike State or Comonwelth; and doe, for our selues and our Successors and such as shall be adioyned to vs att any tyme hereafter, enter into Combination and Confederation togather, to mayntayne and prsearue the liberty and purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus wch we now prfesse, as also the disciplyne of the Churches, wch according to the truth of the said gospell is now practised amongst vs; As also in or Ciuell Affaires to be guided and gouerned according to such Lawes, Rules, Orders and decrees as shall be made ordered and decreed, as followeth:

The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1638).

Idealistic Society: The Sylvania Association

"This Association has been formed by warm friends of the Cause from the cities of New York and Albany. Thomas W. Whitley is President, and Horace Greeley, Treasurer. Operations were commenced in May last, and have already proved incontestably the great advantages of Association; having thus far more than fulfilled the most sanguine hopes of success of those engaged in the enterprise. Temporary buildings have been erected, and the foundation laid of a large edifice; a great deal of land has been cleared and a saw- and grist-mill on the premises when purchased, have been put in excellent repair; several branches of industry, shoemaking particularly, have been established, and the whole concern is now in full operation. Upwards of one hundred and fifty persons, men, women, and children, are on the domain, all contented and happy, and much gratified with their new mode of life, which is new to most of the members as a country residence, as well as an associated household; for nearly all the mechanics formerly resided in cities, New York and Albany principally.

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"The Sylvania domain consists of twenty-three hundred acres of arable land, situated in the township of Lackawaxen, County of Pike, State of Pennsylvania. It lies on the Delaware river, at the mouth of the Lackawaxen creek, fourteen miles from Milford, about eighty-five miles in a straight line west by north of New York City (by stage route ninety-four, and by New York and Erie Railroad to Middletown, one hundred and ten miles; seventy-four of which are now traversed by railroad). The railroad will certainly be carried to Port Jervis, on the Delaware, only fifteen miles below the domain; certainly if the Legislature of the State will permit. The Delaware and Hudson Canal now passes up the Delaware directly across from the domain, affording an unbroken water communication with New York City; and the turnpike from Milford, Pennsylvania to Owego, New York, bounds on the south the lands of the Association, and crosses the Delaware by a bridge about one mile from the dwellings. The domain may be

said, not very precisely, to be bounded by the Delaware on the north, the Lackawaxen on the west, the Shoholy on the east, and the turnpike on the south.

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The Executive officers issued a pamphlet soon after the commencement of operations, from which we extract the following: —

"This Association was formed early in 1843, by a few citizens of New York, mainly mechanics, who, deeply impressed with the present defective, vice-engendering and ruinous system of society, with the wasteful complication of its isolated households, its destructive competition and anarchy in industry, its constraint of millions to idleness and consequent dependence or famine for want of employment, and its failure to secure education and development to the children growing up all around and among us in ignorance and vice, were impelled to immediate and energetic action in resistance to these manifold and mighty evils. Having earnestly studied the system of industrial organization and social reform propounded by Charles Fourier, and been led to recognize in it a beneficent, expansive and practical plan for the melioration of the condition of man and his moral and intellectual elevation, they most heartily adopted that system as the basis and guide of their operations. Holding meetings from time to time, and through the press informing the public of their enterprise and its objects, their numbers steadily increased; their organization was perfected; explorations with a view to the selection of a domain were directed and made; and in the last week of April a location was finally determined on and its purchase effected. During the first week in May, a pioneer division of some forty persons entered upon the possession and improvement of the land. Their number has since been increased to nearly sixty, of whom over forty are men, generally young or in the prime of life, and all recognizing labor as the true and noble destiny of man on earth. The Sylvania Association is the first attempt in North America to realize in practice the vast economies, intellectual advantages and social enjoyments resulting from Fourier's system.

"Any person may become a stockholder by subscribing for not less than one share ($25); but the council, having as yet its headquarters in New York, is necessarily intrusted with power to determine at what time and in what order subscribers and their families can be admitted to resident membership on the domain. Those who are judged best calculated to facilitate the progress of the enterprise must be preferred; those with large families unable to labor must await the construction of buildings for their proper accommodation; while such as shall, on critical inquiry, be found of unfit moral character or debasing habits, cannot be admitted at all. This, however, will nowise interfere with their ownership in the domain; they will be promptly paid the dividends on their stock, whenever declared, the same as resident members.

"The enterprise here undertaken, however humble in its origin, commends itself to the respect of the sceptical and the generous coöperation of the philanthropic. Its consequences, should success (as we cannot doubt it will) crown our exertions, must be far-reaching, beneficent, unbounded. It aims at no aggrandizement of individuals, no upbuilding or overthrow of sect or party, but at the founding of a new, more trustful, more benignant relationship between capital and labor, removing discord, jealousy and hatred, and replacing them by concord, confidence and mutual advantage. The end aimed at is the emancipation of the mass; of the depressed toiling millions, the slaves of necessity and wretchedness, of hunger and constrained idleness, of ignorance, drunkenness and vice; and their elevation to independence, moral and intellectual development; in short, to a true and hopeful manhood. This enterprise now appeals to the lovers of the human race for aid; not for praises, votes or alms, but for coöperation in rendering its triumph signal and speedy. It asks of the opulent and the generous, subscriptions to its stock, in order that its lands may be promptly cleared and improved, its buildings erected, &c.; as they must be far more slowly, if the resident members must devote their energies at once and henceforth to the providing, under the most unfavorable circumstances, of the entire means of their own subsistence."

J. H. Noyes, *American Socialisms*, 233–238.

Idealistic Society: The United States

I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union that we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and, although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States

dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterward;" but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart — Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

DANIEL WEBSTER, *Reply to Hayne* (1830).

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have

a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Gettysburg Address* (1863)

Happily it is the historic faith of the race from which we are chiefly sprung, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is that faith which has made our mother England the great parent of free states. The same faith has made America the political hope of the world. Fortunately removed by our position from the entanglements of European politics, and more united and peaceful at home than at any time within the memory of living men, the moment is most auspicious for remedying that abuse in our political system whose nature, proportions, and perils the whole country begins clearly to discern. The will and the power to apply the remedy will be a test of the sagacity and the energy of the people. The reform of which I have spoken is essentially the people's reform. With the instinct of robbers who run with the crowd and hostily cry, "Stop thief!" those who would make the public service the monopoly of a few favorites denounce the determination to open that service to the whole people as a plan to establish an aristocracy. The huge ogre of patronage, gnawing at the character, the honor, and the life of the country, grimly sneers that the people cannot help themselves and that nothing can be done. But much greater things have been done. Slavery was the Giant Despair of many good men of the last generation, but slavery was overthrown. If the Spoils System, a monster only less threatening than slavery, be unconquerable, it is because the country has lost its convictions, its courage, and its common sense. . . . I know that patronage is strong, but I believe that the American people are very much stronger.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, *On the Spoils System and the Progress of Civil Service Reform* (1881).

BOOK II

THE ELEMENTS AND STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

PART I

THE SOCIAL POPULATION

CHAPTER I

Situation

The Basis of Society

Every society presupposes a certain number of concrete living individuals. The basis of every society, therefore, is a population.

Distribution of Societies

Natural societies, accordingly, are found only where the physical features of land and climate are favorable to the grouping of living beings; and the larger and more flourishing natural societies only where physical conditions admit of the maintenance of relatively large populations.

Inhabitable Areas

Among the features of situation that have an important relation to social phenomena are, first of all, *Position and Extent*, secondly, such *Natural Features* as topography, natural resources — including metals, vegetation and animal life useful to man — soil and climate, and lastly, *Artificial Features* consequent upon human occupation and transformation.

Primary and Secondary Sources of Subsistence

The sources of subsistence which environments offer to their inhabiting populations are both primary and secondary, the former consisting of those wild fruits, grains, roots, fish and game that primitive man can have for the taking, the other of those food supplies that are produced by man's forethought and systematic effort.

Chiefly Significant Features of Situation

The most significant features of situation are those that determine the size and the composition of the population that dwells within a given area, its differentiation, its energy, and its relation to other communities.

Classification of Environments. — In their relation to population environments are of two fundamental types, namely, those poorly, and those richly, endowed with resources.

Those of the one type can maintain and attract only relatively small numbers of inhabitants. Those of the other type support large populations of the native born, and tend to draw a large immigration from elsewhere.

Of each type there are two well-marked subdivisions, namely, the isolated, or difficult of access or of egress, and the accessible.

The Heat Belt and the Temperate Zones

If we divide geographical environment into its unchangeable and its changeable factors, we find the former to consist of climate, the configuration of the land, and the nature of the soil; and the latter, of the surface conditions, which may be changed, for example, by afforestation, de-

forestation, or agriculture; the situation of a country, the effects of which may be modified by the introduction of railways, steamships, and telegraph lines; the unhealthiness of a country, which may be counteracted to some extent by hygienic science.

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If we draw across a map of the world the northern and southern isotherm of 68° Fahrenheit — that is to say, a line passing through those places in the northern and southern hemispheres which have a mean annual temperature of 68° Fahrenheit — we cut off a belt of the earth's surface thirty-six hundred miles across, lying roughly between 30° north latitude and 30° south latitude. This belt is called, for the sake of convenience, the heat belt. In this heat belt lie Mexico, the Central American Republics, the West Indies, the greater part of South America, practically the whole of Africa, Arabia, India, Burma, Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, the Malay Archipelago, Polynesia, and the Philippine Islands. Outside the heat belt lie the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, the greater part of Australia, Central and Northern Asia, Japan, the greater part of China, and the Continent of Europe.

The extreme significance of this grouping becomes apparent when we reflect that, apart from the work done by Europeans and Americans in the tropics, the civilization of the heat belt has remained stationary for a thousand years, and that the advancement of humanity during that period has been carried on entirely by the inhabitants of those countries which lie outside the heat belt.

Bearing in mind the elements which go to make up our own civilization, — western civilization, so called, — it is most important to realize that during the past five hundred years, to go no further, the people of the heat belt have added nothing whatever to what we understand by human advancement. Those natives of the tropics and subtropics who have not been under direct European influence have not during that time made a single contribution of the first importance to art, literature, science, manufactures, or inventions; they have not produced an engineer, or a chemist, or a biologist, or a historian, or a painter, or a musician of the first rank; and even if we include half-castes and

such natives as have enjoyed European education, the list of eminent men in the domain of art, science, literature, and invention, produced by the heat belt can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

ALLEYNE IRELAND, *The Far Eastern Tropics*, 2–4.

The Domain of the United States

The domain of the United States embraces a land area of 2,970,000 square miles of continuous territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, and from British North America to Mexico. Under the American flag, also, are Alaska, with 531,000 square miles, the territory of Hawaii, with an area of 6640 square miles, Porto Rico, with an area of 3600 square miles, the Philippine and Sulu Islands, with an area of 114,000 square miles, Guam, with an area of 200 square miles, Tutuila, Manua, and other small islands in the Samoan group, with an area of 79 square miles, a total area under American sovereignty of 3,625,519 square miles.

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There have been and there are greater empires in the world if area alone be regarded. But no other domain of equal extent within the limits of a temperate climate is so diversified in features and so richly endowed with natural resources. The Atlantic coast region east of the Alleghanies has a varied soil, superb forest growths, a marvellous wealth of iron and coal, and great river systems, furnishing power for manufacturing industries. It has also a score of great harbors, including that of New York, which is without equal in the world. The Mississippi valley, of unrivalled agricultural fertility, divided into wheat and corn belts in the north, cotton and sugar regions in the south, is likewise abundantly provided with the raw materials for manufacturing industry, and natural facilities for transportation. The whole region east of the one hundredth meridian enjoys a fertility almost unknown elsewhere outside of the tropics. In no other land of equal extent does the soil bring forth so great a variety of products fit for human use. No other continent enjoys such a system of

internal lake and river connections. The shores of the Great Lakes have the maritime activity of a sea-coast, and the lake traffic alone exceeds the commerce of any but the greatest European nations. To the westward the great plains have become the most important ranching region of the world. The mountain systems of the Rockies and the Sierras contain unestimated riches of gold and silver, while California, as Professor Royce once pointed out in the pages of this review, enjoys a climate and a combination of natural features all tending to produce an effect upon the human mind experienced only in Greece.

GIDDINGS, *The American People*, in *The International Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 2, June, 1903. Quoted *infra* as *A. P.*

CHAPTER II

Aggregation

The Phenomena of Population

Every social population offers for observation phenomena of Aggregation, or distribution of density; phenomena of Composition, by age, sex, and race; and phenomena of Amalgamation or unity.

The Inhabiting Species

That gathering of living beings about certain points or centres, which we call Aggregation, is seen not only in the distribution of human life, but also in the distribution of vegetal and animal species, and, within the broader geographical distribution, in the formation of swarms, bands, or companies.

An Army of Blackbirds

Last Wednesday army after army of blackbirds flew over Aline, headed north. The advance guard was about a half-mile long and flying in lines or files reaching from the Rock Island to the Orient track. The second flew in column formation and was fully three-quarters of a mile long. At intervals of from fifteen minutes to an hour all through the forenoon patches and squares of birds followed. A conservative estimate of the number that passed during the forenoon would be five hundred thousand. The birds flew very low, and their wings and chattering could be heard at a great distance.

Kansas City Journal, April, 1905.

Density

The measure of human aggregation at any given time and place is density of population. Density is statistically expressed as the total number of human inhabitants dwelling within a given area; or, as the number per square mile, so dwelling; or, sometimes, in cities, as the number per acre, so dwelling.

Population of the United States in 1862

At the same ratio of increase which we have maintained, on an average, from our first national census, in 1790, until that of 1860, we should in 1900 have a population of 103,208,415. And why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room, our broad national homestead, is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away. But such is not our condition. We have 2,963,000 square miles. Europe has 3,800,000, with a population averaging $73\frac{1}{3}$ persons to the square mile. Why may not our country at some time average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If, then, we are at some time to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this *may* be, we can judge by the past and the present; as to when it *will* be, if ever, depends much on whether we maintain the Union. Several of our states are already above the average of Europe — $73\frac{1}{3}$ to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157; Rhode Island, 133; Connecticut, 99; New York and New Jersey, each 80. Also two other great states, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 63 and the latter 59. The states already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid a ratio since passing that point as ever before, while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in natural capacity for sustaining a dense population.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Second Annual Message.*

Growth of the American Population

Past human history affords no parallel to the growth of the American population. The first census of the United States, taken in 1790, enumerated a population of 3,929,214 souls. The twelfth census, taken in 1900, enumerated in the states and territories, not including Indian Territory, Indian reservations, Alaska, and Hawaii, 75,568,686 souls. Of this number no less than 20,901,816 have come as immigrants since the year 1820. The smallest immigration in any one year since that date was in 1823, namely, 6354 persons. The greatest immigration in any one year until the present was in 1882, namely, 788,992. The total immigration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, promises to surpass that for 1882. The fluctuations have been governed chiefly by economic conditions. Years of great prosperity have been followed by an increasing number of arrivals, while after years of depression the number has as regularly fallen away. On the whole, this immigrant population has been in point of physical health and energy a select stock. A small percentage of our foreign born has from the first consisted of the relatively helpless and inefficient, but a large majority has consisted of men and women that have had the enterprise and the resolution to accumulate the means necessary for the Atlantic journey, and voluntarily to cut loose from old associations.

The relation between environment and national growth is exemplified in the distribution of the American people according to certain natural features within the United States even more strikingly than in the total growth of our population. Few, even among the educated, realize what large portions of every continent are either unfit for human habitation, or present such obstacles to domicile that the great currents of migration flow all around or across them without leaving much permanent trace. Of our entire population no less than 12,104,275, or 15.9 per cent, live at sea-level, that is to say, at an altitude of less than 100 feet, and within an area of 184,584 square miles. At an altitude of between 100 and 500 feet live 16,611,853 persons, or 21.8 per cent of our total number. The land area at this level is 376,372 square miles in extent. At an alti-

tude of between 500 and 1000 feet we have a land area of 545,480 square miles, and here live 29,402,207 persons, or 38.7 of our population. At an altitude of between 1000 and 1500 feet we have a land area of 394,449 square miles, and here live 11,173,113 persons, or 14.7 per cent of our whole population. Thus within a little more than half of our land area, in regions which lie at less than 1500 feet above sea-level, live more than nine-tenths of all our inhabitants. Since 1880 the drift has been down hill rather than up. Thus in 1880 it was 15.1 per cent of the population that lived at sea-level, 23.1 per cent that lived at an altitude between 100 and 500 feet, 40.5 per cent that lived at an altitude between 500 and 1000 feet, and 14.6 per cent that lived at an altitude between 1000 and 1500 feet. There has, however, been a marked increase in the population living at altitudes above 3000 feet, which include portions of the ranching, as well as the more important mining regions.

Most interesting of all, perhaps, is the distribution in accordance with drainage basins. Rich in resources as is the great Pacific coast, and enormous as its population one day will be, its share of our total inhabitants at present is less than 4 per cent. To be precise, 95.7 per cent of the American people live in the country which drains to the Atlantic Ocean; the remainder dwell on the Pacific coast and in the Great Basin. On the other hand, the region east of the Alleghanies, which comprehends the original thirteen States, has ceased to be the dominant section of our country as measured by population and the economic and political power which population carries with it; for no less than 53.4 per cent of our inhabitants now live in the region which drains to the Gulf of Mexico. The growth of the Mormon population in the Great Basin has always been regarded as phenomenal, and so, indeed, when regarded absolutely, it has been. But how small it is relatively is revealed in the fact that the entire population of the Great Basin constitutes only five-tenths of one per cent of our total inhabitants.

Of our foreign born population 93.1 per cent live in the region which drains to the Atlantic Ocean; 34.4 per cent are found in the region which drains to the Gulf of Mexico;

and 6.1 per cent dwell on the Pacific coast. Of the negro population 99.8 per cent live in the regions draining to the Atlantic Ocean, and 61.4 per cent in land that drains to the Gulf of Mexico. No less than 22.4 per cent of the negro population live at sea-level, and 48.2 per cent at an altitude of 100 to 500 feet.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Multiplication

Density is determined in part, but only in part, by the multiplication of human beings, which is statistically ascertained by comparisons of total births with total deaths for a given period, or by comparisons of birth rates with death rates.

Genetic Aggregation

A population reproduced by its birth rate, irrespective of immigration, may be called a Genetic Aggregation.

The Primitive Germans

I concur in opinion with those who deem the Germans never to have intermarried with other nations; but to be a race, pure, unmixed, and stamped with a distinct character. Hence a family likeness pervades the whole, though their numbers are so great: eyes stern and blue; ruddy hair; large bodies powerful in sudden exertions; . . .

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TACITUS, *The Germania*, Oxford translation, 7.

The Early Bostonians

The Bostonians, almost without exception, are derived from one country and a single stock. They are all descendants of Englishmen; and of course are united by all the great bonds of society: language, religion, government, manners, and interests.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. I. 506.

Early Inhabitants of Nantucket

The majority of the present inhabitants are the descendants of the twenty-seven first proprietors, who patented the island; of the rest, many others have since come over among them, chiefly from the Massachusetts: here are neither Scotch, Irish, nor French, as is the case in most other settlements; they are an unmixed English breed. The consequence of this extended connexion is, that they are all in some degree related to each other: you must not be surprised therefore when I tell you, that they always call each other cousin, uncle or aunt; which are become such common appellations, that no other are made use of in their daily intercourse: you would be deemed stiff and affected were you to refuse conforming yourself to this ancient custom, which truly depicts the image of a large family.

J. Hector St. John Crèvecœur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), 157.

Migration

Aggregation and the degree of density are continually changing, not only because of births and deaths, but also in consequence of migration.

Classification of Migrations

Migrations may be divided into three classes. *Firstly*, migration occurring within the country itself, which might be called *intra-migration.* *Secondly*, migration from country to country, but within the limits of one continent; this might be conveniently called *inter-migration.* *Thirdly*, migration from continent to continent, ordinarily called, according to the direction of its flow, either emigration or immigration, but which might with more precision be termed *ultra-migration.*

Migration of the first kind, that occurring within the limits of the country, or *intra-migration* as I propose to term it, is a great and constant movement varying only in

degree, directed from the cottage to the village, from the village to the town, from the town to the city, from agricultural to mining or manufacturing districts. Its main motive power is the greater demand for labour in the large centres of population, and consequently higher wages; men leave their homes with a view of "bettering" themselves, often making little allowance for the greater cost of living in towns. But, in addition to purely economic reasons, there is another scarcely less potent — the love of excitement and novelty. The noise and bustle of the street, squalid though it be, and the glare of gas-lights, even though mainly those of the gin-shop, are strangely attractive to the countryman.

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Migration of the second kind — *inter-migration*, or the movement from one country to an adjoining one — is generally by persons in search of work or advancement, and is therefore apt to be directed from the poorer to the richer country; as when Italians go into France, Austria, or Switzerland, or when Irish and Scotch betake themselves to England. This inter-migration is not usually directly the subject of official records, but indirectly its results are from time to time recorded in the tables of birthplaces in census reports. The countries that are most notable as attracting inter-migration are France and England.

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The third form of migration, that from continent to continent, from the Old World to the New, is of the greatest importance as a determining factor in history, and is that which I shall treat of at greatest length.

It is impossible to state accurately the amount of migration taking place between different countries. Although in almost all old countries statistics of emigration are published and in new countries the numbers of immigrants are recorded, the returns are liable to many errors. In the first place, they are often in themselves incorrect, either overstating or understating the facts; then there is no means of proving the *bona fides* of alleged emigrants (or immigrants); they may return whence they came, or they

may pass on to another colony; lastly, many who are merely passengers to and fro, travellers on business or pleasure, are recorded as emigrants or immigrants.

More satisfactory are the indications derived from the statements as to birthplaces in the censuses of the countries receiving the immigrants. These numbers show approximately how many have actually settled down in a new country, and the increase or decrease of persons of any particular nationality from census to census indicates the direction (but not the exact amount) of fluctuations in the movement. Obviously census figures have the disadvantage that they are only published at long intervals.

G. B. Longstaff, *Studies in Statistics*, 34–35, 37–38, 43–44.

Migrations of the Greeks

The country which is now called Hellas was not regularly settled in ancient times. The people were migratory, and readily left their homes whenever they were overpowered by numbers. There was no commerce, and they could not safely hold intercourse with one another either by land or sea. The several tribes cultivated their own soil just enough to obtain a maintenance from it. But they had no accumulations of wealth, and did not plant the ground; for, being without walls, they were never sure that an invader might not come and despoil them. Living in this manner and knowing that they could anywhere obtain a bare subsistence, they were always ready to migrate; so that they had neither great cities nor any considerable resources. The richest districts were most constantly changing their inhabitants; for example, the countries which are now called Thessaly and Bœotia, the greater part of the Peloponnesus with the exception of Arcadia, and all the best parts of Hellas. For the productiveness of the land increased the power of individuals; this in turn was a source of quarrels by which communities were ruined, while at the same time they were more exposed to attacks from without. Certainly Attica, of which the soil was poor and thin, enjoyed a long freedom from civil strife, and therefore retained its original

inhabitants. And a striking confirmation of my argument is afforded by the fact that Attica through immigration increased in population more than any other region. For the leading men of Hellas, when driven out of their own country by war or revolution, sought an asylum at Athens: and from the very earliest times, being admitted to rights of citizenship, so greatly increased the number of inhabitants that Attica became incapable of containing them, and was at last obliged to send out colonies to Ionia.

THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Jowett, 1–3.

Migration of Protestant Flemings to England

In early times, the English were for the most part a pastoral and agricultural, and not a manufacturing people. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most articles of clothing, excepting such as were produced by ordinary domestic industry, were imported from Flanders, France, and Germany. The great staple of England was wool, which was sent abroad in large quantities. "The ribs of all people throughout the world," wrote Matthew Paris, "are kept warm by the fleeces of English wool."

The wool and its growers were on one side of the English Channel, and the skilled workmen who dyed and wove it into cloth were on the other. When war broke out, and communication between the two shores was interrupted, great distress was occasioned in Flanders by the stoppage of the supply of English wool. On one occasion, when the export of wool from England was prohibited, the effect was to reduce the manufacturing population throughout the Low Countries to destitution and despair. "Then might be seen throughout Flanders," says the local historian, "weavers, fullers, and others living by the woollen manufacture, either begging, or, driven by debt, tilling the soil."

At the same time, the English wool-growers lost the usual market for their produce. It naturally occurred to the English Kings that it would be of great advantage to this country to have the wool made into cloth by the hands of their own people, instead of sending it abroad for the purpose. They accordingly held out invitations to the

distressed Flemish artizans to come over and settle in England, where they would find abundant employment at remunerative wages; and as early as the reign of Edward III., a large number of Flemings came over and settled in London, Kent, Norfolk, Devon, Somerset, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Westmoreland.

The same policy was pursued by successive English Kings, down to the reign of Henry VIII., who encouraged skilled artizans of all kinds to settle in England — as armourers, cutlers, miners, brewers, and shipbuilders; the principal craftsmen employed by the court being Flemings and Germans.

The immigration of foreign Protestants began in the reign of his successor, Edward VI.

The disturbed state of the Continent at that time had the effect of seriously interfering with the pursuits of industry; and in many of the German and Low Country towns, the working classes were beginning to suffer from want of employment.

The unemployed sought to remove to some foreign country less disturbed by party strife, in which they might find remunerative employment for their industry; while the men of The Religion longed for some secure asylum in which they might worship God according to conscience. John Bradford, the Englishman, writing to his friend Erkenwalde Rawlins, the Fleming, in 1554, advised him thus: "Go to, therefore, dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either you may stand to it like God's champions, or else, if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that you are not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and safe conscience serve the Lord."

There were, indeed, many who felt themselves wanting in the requisite strength to bear persecution, and who, accordingly, prepared to depart. Besides, the world was wide, and England was near at hand, ready to give them asylum. At first, the emigration was comparatively small; for it was a sore trial to many to break up old connections, to leave home, country, and relatives behind, and begin the world anew in a foreign land. Nevertheless, small bodies of emigrating Protestants at length began to move,

dropping down the Rhine in boats, and passing over from the Dutch and Flemish ports into England. Others came from Flanders itself; though at first the immigration from that quarter, as well as from France, was of a very limited character.

The foreigners were welcomed on their arrival in England, being generally regarded as a valuable addition to the skilled working classes of the country. Thus Latimer, when preaching before Edward VI., shrewdly observed of the foreigners persecuted for conscience' sake: "I wish that we could collect together such valuable persons in this kingdom, as it would be the means of insuring its prosperity." Very few years passed before Latimer's wish was fully realized; and there was scarcely a town of any importance in England in which foreign artizans were not found settled and diligently pursuing their respective callings.

The immigration of the Protestant Flemings in Edward VI.'s reign was already so considerable, that the King gave them the church in Austin Friars, Broad Street, "to have their service in, and for avoiding all sects of Anabaptists and the like." The influx continued at such a rate as to interfere with the employment of the native population, who occasionally showed a disposition to riot, and even to expel the foreigners by violence. In a letter written by Francis Peyto to the Earl of Warwick, then at Rome, the following passage occurs: "Five or six hundred men waited upon the mayor and aldermen, complaining of the late influx of strangers, and that, by reason of the great dearth, they cannot live for these strangers, whom they were determined to kill up through the realm if they found no remedy. To pacify them, the mayor and aldermen caused an esteame to be made of all strangers in London, which showed an amount of forty thousand, besides women and children, for the most part heretics fled out of other countries." Although this estimate was probably a gross exaggeration, there can be no doubt that by this time a large number of the exiles had arrived and settled in London and other English towns.

The influx of the persecuted Protestants, however, did not fully set in until about ten years later, about the begin-

ning of the reign of Elizabeth. The fugitives, in the extremities to which they were reduced, naturally made for that part of the English coast which lay nearest to Flanders and France. In 1561, a considerable body of Flemings landed near Deal, and subsequently settled at the then decayed town of Sandwich. The Queen was no sooner informed of their landing, than she wrote to the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the burgh, enjoining them to give liberty to the foreigners to settle there and carry on their respective trades. She recommended the measure as calculated to greatly benefit the town by "plantynge in the same men of knowledge in sundry handycrafts," in which they "were very skilful;" and her Majesty more particularly enjoined that the trades the foreign artizans were to carry on were "the makinge of says, bays, and other cloth, which hath not been used to be made in this our realme of England."

Other landings of Flemings took place about the same time — at Harwich, at Yarmouth, at Dover, and other towns on the southeast coast. Some settled at the places where they had landed and began to pursue their several branches of industry; whilst others proceeded to London, Norwich, Maidstone, Canterbury, and other inland towns, where the local authorities gave them protection and succour.

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These landings continued during the summer of 1562; and even as late as November the mayor again wrote to Cecil: "May it please your honour to be advertised that the third day of the present month, at twelve of the clocke, there arrived a bote from Dieppe, with Frenchmen, women, and children, to the number of a hundred and fiftye, there being a great number also which were here before." And as late as the 10th of December, the French people still flying for refuge, though winter had already set in severely, the mayor again wrote that another boat had arrived with "many poor people, as well men and women as children, which were of Rouen and Dieppe."

Six years passed, and again, in 1568, we find another boatload of fugitives from France, landing at Rye: "Monsieur Gamayes, with his wife and children and ten strangers;

and Captain Sowes, with his wife and two servants, who had all come out of France, as they said, for the safeguard of their lives." Four years later, in 1572, there was a further influx of refugees at Rye — the mayor again writing to Lord Burleigh, informing him that between the 27th of August and the 4th of November no fewer than 641 had landed. The records have been preserved of the names and callings of most of the immigrants; from which it appears that they were of all ranks and conditions, including gentlemen, merchants, doctors of physic, ministers of religion, students, schoolmasters, tradesmen, mechanics, artizans, shipwrights, mariners, and laborers. Among the fugitives were also several widows, who had fled with their children across the sixty miles of sea which there divide France from England, sometimes by night in open boats, braving the fury of the winds and waves in their eagerness to escape.

The mayor of Rye made appeals to the Queen for help, and especially for provisions, which from time to time ran short; and the help was at once given. Collections were made for the relief of the destitute refugees in many of the churches in England, as well as in Scotland; and, among others, we find the refugee Flemings at Sandwich giving out of their slender means "a benefaction to the poor Frenchmen, who have left their country for conscience' sake."

The landings continued for many years. The people came flying from various parts of France and Flanders — cloth-makers from Antwerp and Bruges, lace-makers from Valenciennes, cambric-makers from Cambray, glass-makers from Paris, stuff-weavers from Meaux, merchants and tradesmen from Rouen, and shipwrights and mariners from Dieppe and Havre. As the fugitives continued to land, they were sent inland as speedily as possible, to make room for newcomers, the household accommodation of the little towns along the English coast being but limited. From Rye many proceeded to London, to join their countrymen who had settled there; others went forward to Canterbury, to Southampton, to Norwich, and the other towns where Walloon congregations had already been established. A body of them settled at Winchelsea, an

ancient town, formerly of much importance on the south coast, though now left high and dry inland.

Many fugitives also landed at Dover, which was a convenient point for both France and Flanders. Some of the immigrants passed through to Canterbury and London, while others settled permanently in the place. Early in the seventeenth century a census was taken of the foreigners residing in Dover, when it was found that there were seventy-eight persons "which of late came out of France by reason of the troubles there." The description of them is interesting, as showing the classes to which the exiles principally belonged. There were two "preachers of God's word"; three physicians and surgeons; two advocates; two esquires; three merchants; two schoolmasters; thirteen drapers, grocers, brewers, butchers, and other trades; twelve mariners; eight weavers and wool combers; twenty-five widows, "makers of bone-lace and spinners"; two maidens; one woman, designated as the wife of a shepherd; one button-maker; one gardener; and one undescribed male. There were at the same time settled in Dover thirteen Walloon exiles, of whom five were merchants, three mariners, and the others of different trades.

SAMUEL SMILES, *Huguenots in England and Ireland*, 88–92, 93–95.

Decay and Revival of English Coast Towns

Our subject leads to the singular fate that attended many of our south coast towns in the course of the last century. They died out as mercantile coast towns; and when near to a point of extinction, they rose, phœnix-like, under a metamorphosed appearance, and enabled a large and new class in society to gratify their wishes and a novel taste.

The decline of these towns was nearly simultaneous, and was due to the same causes. Their rise was contemporaneous, and is attributable to a novel phase which society took on, to new habits, and to the effects of new medical prescriptive directions.

Many of our coast towns had been the residence of merchants for several centuries, who traded in very small

vessels, as was then the custom, to foreign parts. Some towns had manufactures of woollen goods carried on in addition to fishing, and a little trade in shipping.

The war with France, after the revolution and expulsion of James II., put an end to the trade with that country, which has never been re-established. As the old families, the honoured merchants, died off, there were no successors. Their sons withdrew altogether; or if they remained, there was no longer any commerce to occupy their attention. The vessels used in foreign trade gave way to ships which were unsuited to small ports, and large and populous towns drew away and retained all the foreign trade.

Some of our towns straightway declined in a rapid manner, and were in a very low condition.

Weymouth and Lyme, old coast towns, are remarkable instances of this decline.

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In 1747 the roads and ways were out of repair. The old names of families who had lived many years in the town no longer appear. The state of the streets, from the account of them furnished by the old people, was truly pitiable. The constables present, in 1762, things "as well as usual."

There was little shipping, and very few respectable inhabitants, about the year 1750. Houses were of little value: purchasers could scarcely be procured on any terms, and some were literally given away; while others are known to have been offered, but refused! About this time a weaver's four large rooms, and weaving room besides, let for one shilling a week. The weavers wove the serges at their own houses: the cloth was not dyed. The lower street had large high buildings, some of which projected at each story, which had been the abode in the former century of rich families, but from the effects of time, and neglect of the poorer occupiers, were in a state of extreme decay. The population had dwindled to less than a thousand inhabitants, so that a great many houses remained unoccupied, and were so neglected, that it is an incontestable fact, that no one could walk with safety in the streets during a high wind, which frequently blew down parts of the most tottering buildings. From the

year 1692 to 1772 above one hundred and eighteen houses had fallen to ruin, besides many burnt down and never rebuilt and washed away by the sea. A petition to Parliament set forth the inability of the town to pay the land tax, which had increased to 6*s*. in the pound, and had been returned *insuper*.

As the old houses fell down, or, having become dangerous, were removed, poor people built themselves with the materials tenements of little value. Some old buildings were repaired in such an excessively clumsy manner as to destroy all vestiges of former proportions.

There were no houses in the environs; there was then a *town's end* in reality, where a century before posts had been driven in to keep out the Cavaliers. Broad Street was inhabited by lace-makers, who worked at their Lyme-lace — an elegant material, which, however, did not enrich the poor people engaged in that trade.

Most of the serges wove were shipped from Exeter to Ancona. This source of employment ceased as the trade was transferred to the north.

Most of the houses in Broad Street had porches. An old person described, among other things, how ladies in the decline of life used to sit and stand in their porches on summer evenings, to talk to their friends and also to inferiors, in full dress — a white apron instead of a check one, ruffles, etc. Two or three ladies of the principal families were styled "madame." No strangers ever came in the summer. When the members of the Fane family attended elections, etc., they were received by a gentleman named Lisle, at his house in the Butter Market.

The shops were so ill supplied, that, excepting at fairs, very few articles not of ordinary consumption could be procured. The old houses rapidly disappeared, and hovels succeeded in their places. No white bread was sold. The labourers worked for 4*d*. a day.

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Weymouth might equally well have been cited as an example of decline. The same lament would have applied to it as to Lyme and other old maritime towns. Weymouth had fallen very low, and was the residence of fishermen and smugglers. Poverty was great, and tenements fell

down from neglect. Certain rents of assize amounted to only 14*l.*

In 1740 the half of Charlotte Row was offered to an individual if he would enclose the remainder, which he declined, considering it as a bad speculation.

At Brighton a spot of ground was offered to a hairdresser in fee, upon condition of shaving the possessor. The terms were declined. The land soon became very valuable.

Commerce did not revive, and the woollen trade was doomed to decline also, and to be transferred to other localities.

The arrest that took place in the further decline of the seaport towns, — the metamorphose in the habits of society, — are worthy of consideration. Great effects were produced; manners were altered; old towns revived, and new towns rapidly arose.

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Before the year 1750 the sea on our southern coast had ever been as pure; — the hills and under cliffs as grand and captivating, still no inland residents came to the fairy land. There is in history no record of any summer seaside pleasure-taking or health-seeking visits; not a word of bathing, nor any hot baths. In Queen Elizabeth's reign any scholar of Cambridge University who dared to bathe by day or night was set in the stocks all day; and for the second offence, to be whipped with rods.

Whether is the more strange? the neglect of the seaside for bathing, or the change that now obtained?

Persons of either sex living far from the sea deemed it necessary to rush to the coast so soon as the fine weather had set in. Like the anadromous fishes, a furious desire to migrate seized upon them, and they obeyed the instinctive call. Opinion will be found to have set going this movement. The same moving power has been active on subsequent occasions. Medical practice assumes the mania of fashion, and its votaries obey the call. How many forms of fashionable practice have seriously occupied the attention of society, particularly of the easy classes; but none can, it is to be believed, equal the monster movement of the era under consideration.

Man delights to trace great results to certain causes, and to prove them to be the clear emanation of one mind. Shall injustice be imputed if Dr. Richard Russel be set down as the great instigator of the seaside mania?

This physician was the son of a London bookseller. His acquirements were great, and a great name was the consequence. In 1750 he published in Latin his well-known *Treatise upon Glandular Consumption, and the Use of Sea Water in Diseases of the Glands.* This produced a great effect upon the medical faculty; and in 1753 an English translation was sent forth, which increased his fame and the number of his patients. His course of treatment led him, as might reasonably be supposed, to the coast. He chose Brighton for his residence.

Sea water became the panacea for every ailment. Physicians talked of the sea; descanted upon the number of dips, the hour for immersion; the number of times a week; the particular locality, and the relative strength or saltness of the water. Determination to the seaside was set up.

Should we say of Dr. Russel that he caused Brighton alone to rise, — that metropolis of the sea-coast? The fame of his practice led other medical men to raise the cry, "To the seaside." Lodging houses began to be created in a very great number of localities, as at Brighton. Dr. Russel was to seaside visitors what Peter the Hermit was to the crusades — the instigator, the genius that raised the latent spirit.

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Some towns were especially marked out and lauded by physicians for their curative influence in cases of consumption. This was so in a remarkable degree with Sidmouth, when Torquay, Bournemouth, etc., did not exist as towns, or even as villages. There were by the quay at Tor three cottages, which many old persons remembered as the first signs of that large watering-place and winter residence. Ryde had only a few fishermen's houses. Brighton was a small place. Weston super Mare, Clevedon, Burnham, Teignmouth, Budleigh, Sallerton, Bournemouth, Dawlish, Bagnov, Worthing, etc., either did not exist, or were insignificant villages.

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In the summer months an agreeable society was formed. The visitors and respectable inhabitants occasionally met at six o'clock to dance in the alcove on the Square, now forming a part of the walk. The front was glazed. The whole extent of window was lined with spectators, who took their station to "gaze on the fair" and see the strangers.

Families of good fortune regularly came for the season, and many of the first visitors built houses near the sea, in spots which till then had been entirely neglected. In the course of a few years great changes took place. There were two prices for articles, one for inhabitants, another for visitors. Persons of county family put a sum of money into their trunk, and went to the sea to spend it. Some "land sharks" followed; and amusing adventures might be recorded. Some persons in business, keepers of hotels, libraries, and assembly rooms, made themselves particularly useful to the strangers. Possessed of tact, a few attained a pitch of influence that caused them to be privileged persons, while their senses directed them to use with judgment and effect the advantages of their position — a novel one to themselves and their fellow townsmen. Houses began to be wholly appropriated to strangers, though none of those pretty cottages which now grace the environs had been erected and few buildings in a more elevated situation were in existence. A boarding house was opened.

G. ROBERTS, *Social History of the Southern Counties of England*, 540–543, 546–550.

Congregation

The growth of a population by immigration is a process of Congregation. It is a gathering in one place or area of individuals from many other places, who are attracted by the resources or other opportunities of a new home.

Anglo-Norman England

One immediate result of the Conquest had been a great immigration into England from the Continent. A peaceful invasion of the industrial and trading classes of Normandy followed quick on the conquest of the Norman

soldiery. Every Norman noble as he quartered himself upon English lands, every Norman abbot as he entered his English cloister, gathered French artists or French domestics around his new castle or his new church. Around the Abbey of Battle, for instance, which William had founded on the site of his great victory, "Gilbert the Foreigner, Gilbert the Weaver, Benet the Steward, Hugh the Secretary, Baldwin the Tailor," mixed with the English tenantry. More especially was this the case with the capital. Long before the landing of William, the Normans had had mercantile establishments in London. Such settlements, however, naturally formed nothing more than a trading colony; but London had no sooner submitted to the Conqueror than "many of the citizens of Rouen and Caen passed over thither, preferring to be dwellers in this city, inasmuch as it was fitter for their trading and better stored with the merchandize in which they were wont to traffic."

GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, 92.

Causes of Aggregation

Proximate Causes of aggregation are, first, fecundity, statistically expressed by the excess of births over deaths; and, secondly, the life opportunities that attract migrating men from elsewhere.

Remoter Causes are certain processes that in the nomenclature of the theory of evolution are denoted by the word Equilibration.

Bodies or aggregates highly charged with energy give off a portion of their surplus energy to neighboring bodies or aggregates less highly charged; the highly heated body, for example, radiating its heat to surrounding objects until temperatures are equalized.

The movement of population from a region where life opportunities are few, to one where they are abundant, is a mode of equilibration. It may be called Demographic Equilibration.

Among the conditions determining equilibrative processes in a population are certain important causes affecting energy. Chief among these are land and climate and certain special physical causes of migration.

Relation of Environment to Energy

Bodily functions are facilitated by atmospheric conditions which make evaporation from the skin and lungs rapid. That weak persons, whose variations of health furnish good tests, are worse when the air is surcharged with water, and are better when the weather is fine; and that commonly such persons are enervated by residence in moist localities but invigorated by residence in dry ones, are facts generally recognized. And this relation of cause and effect, manifest in individuals, doubtless holds in races. Throughout temperate regions, differences of constitutional activity due to differences of atmospheric humidity, are less traceable than in torrid regions: the reason being that all the inhabitants are subject to a tolerably quick escape of water from their surfaces; since the air, though well charged with water, will take up more when its temperature, previously low, is raised by contact with the body. But it is otherwise in tropical regions where the body and the air bathing it differ much less in temperature; and where, indeed, the air is sometimes higher in temperature than the body. Here the rate of evaporation depends almost wholly on the quantity of surrounding vapour. If the air is hot and moist, the escape of water through the skin and lungs is greatly hindered; while it is greatly facilitated if the air is hot and dry. Hence in the torrid zone, we may expect constitutional differences between the inhabitants of low, steaming tracts and the inhabitants of tracts parched with heat. Needful as are cutaneous and pulmonary evaporation for maintaining the movement of fluids through the tissues and thus furthering molecular changes, it is to be inferred that, other things equal, there will be more bodily activity in the people of hot and dry localities than in the people of hot and humid localities.

The evidence justifies this inference. The earliest

recorded civilization grew up in a hot and dry region — Egypt; and in hot and dry regions also arose the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician civilizations. But the facts when stated in terms of nations are far less striking than when stated in terms of races. On glancing over a general rain-map, there will be seen an almost continuous area marked "rainless district," extending across North Africa, Arabia, Persia, and on through Thibet into Mongolia; and from within, or from the borders of this district, have come all the conquering races of the Old World. We have the Tartar race, which, passing the southern mountain-boundary of this rainless district, peopled China and the regions between it and India — thrusting the aborigines of these areas into the hilly tracts; and which has sent successive waves of invaders not into these regions only, but into the West. We have the Aryan race, overspreading India and making its way through Europe. We have the Semitic race, becoming dominant in North Africa, and, spurred on by Mahommedan fanaticism, subduing parts of Europe. That is to say, besides the Egyptian race, which became powerful in the hot and dry valley of the Nile, we have three races widely unlike in type, which, from different parts of the rainless district have spread over regions relatively humid. Original superiority of type was not the common trait of these peoples: the Tartar type is inferior, as was the Egyptian. But the common trait, as proved by subjugation of other peoples, was energy. And when we see that this common trait in kinds of men otherwise unlike, had for its concomitant their long-continued subjection to these special climatic conditions — when we find, further, that from the region characterized by these conditions, the earlier waves of conquering emigrants, losing in moister countries their ancestral energy, were overrun by later waves of the same kind of men, or of other kinds, coming from this region; we get strong reason for inferring a relation between constitutional vigour and the presence of an air which, by its warmth and dryness, facilitates the vital actions. A striking verification is at hand. The rain-map of the New World shows that the largest of the parts distinguished as almost rainless, is that Central American and Mexican region in

which indigenous civilisations developed; and that the only other rainless district is that part of the ancient Peruvian territory, in which the pre-Yuca civilisation has left its most conspicuous traces. Inductively, then, the evidence justifies in a remarkable manner the physiological deduction. Nor are there wanting minor verifications. Speaking of the varieties of negroes, Livingstone says: "Heat alone does not produce blackness of skin, but heat with moisture seems to insure the deepest hue;" and Schweinfurth remarks on the relative blackness of the Denka and other tribes living on the alluvial plains, and contrasts them with "the less swarthy and more robust races who inhabit the rocky hills of the interior," differences with which there go differences of energy. But I note this fact for the purpose of suggesting its probable connexion with the fact that the lighter-skinned races are habitually the dominant races. We see it to have been so in Egypt. It was so with the races spreading south from Central Asia. Traditions imply that it was so in Central America and Peru. Speke says, "I have always found the lighter-coloured savages more boisterous and warlike than those of a dingier hue." And if, heat being the same, darkness of skin accompanies humidity of the air, while lightness of skin accompanies dryness of the air, then, in this habitual predominance of the fair varieties of men, we find further evidence that constitutional activity, and in so far social development, is favoured by a climate conducing to rapid evaporation.

HERBERT SPENCER, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. 21–23.

Physical Causes of Migration

A complete outline of the original external factors implies a knowledge of the past which we have not got, and are not likely to get. Now that geologists and archæologists are uniting to prove that human existence goes back to a time so remote that "pre-historic" scarcely expresses it, we are shown that the effects of external conditions on social evolution cannot be fully traced. Remembering that the twenty thousand years, or so, during which man

has lived in the Nile-valley, is made to seem a relatively small period by the evidence that he co-existed with the extinct mammals of the drift — remembering that England had human inhabitants at an epoch which good judges think was glacial — remembering that in America, along with the bones of a *Mastodon* imbedded in the alluvium of the Bourbense, were found arrow-heads and other traces of the savages who had killed this member of an order no longer represented in that part of the world — remembering that, judging from the evidence as interpreted by Professor Huxley, those vast subsidences which changed a continent into the Eastern Archipelago, took place after the negro race was established as a distinct variety of man; we must infer that it is hopeless to trace back the external factors of social phenomena to anything like their first forms.

One important truth only, implied by the evidence thus glanced at, must be noted. Geological changes and meteorological changes, as well as the consequent changes of Floras and Faunas, must have been causing, over all parts of the Earth, perpetual emigrations and immigrations. From each locality made less habitable by increasing inclemency, a wave of diffusion must have spread; into each locality made more favourable to human existence by amelioration of climate, or increase of indigenous food, or both, a wave of concentration must have been set up; and by great geological changes, here sinking areas of land and there raising areas, other redistributions of mankind must have been produced. Accumulating facts show that these enforced ebbings and flowings have, in some localities, and probably in most, taken place time after time. And such waves of emigration and immigration must have been ever bringing the dispersed groups of the race into contact with conditions more or less new.

HERBERT SPENCER, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. 16–17.

Causes of the Great Asiatic-European Migrations

Men of science have not yet settled upon the causes which some two thousand years ago drove whole nations from Asia into Europe and resulted in the great migrations of barbarians which put an end to the West Roman Em-

pire. One cause, however, is naturally suggested to the geographer as he contemplates the ruins of populous cities in the deserts of Central Asia, or follows the old beds of rivers now disappeared and the wide outlines of lakes now reduced to the size of mere ponds. It is desiccation: a quite recent desiccation, continued still at a speed which we formerly were not prepared to admit.[1] Against it man was powerless. When the inhabitants of North-West Mongolia and East Turkestan saw that water was abandoning them, they had no course open to them but to move down the broad valleys leading to the lowlands, and to thrust westwards the inhabitants of the plains. Stems after stems were thus thrown into Europe, compelling other stems to move and to remove for centuries in succession, westwards and eastwards, in search of new and more or less permanent abodes. Races were mixing with races during those migrations, aborigines with immigrants, Aryans with Ural-Altayans; and it would have been no wonder if the social institutions which had kept them together in their mother-countries had been totally wrecked during the stratification of races which took place in Europe and Asia. But they were *not* wrecked; they simply underwent the modification which was required by the new conditions of life.

P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, 118–119.

Ultimate Causes of Aggregation

The ultimate causes of aggregation are found in the constitution and motions of matter and the processes of universal evolution.

Matter and Motion. — Matter, long since resolved into the molecules that compose masses, and the atoms that

[1] Numberless traces of post-pliocene lakes, now disappeared, are found over Central, West, and North Asia. Shells of the same species as those now found in the Caspian Sea are scattered over the surface of the soil as far east as half-way to Lake Aral, and are found in recent deposits as far north as Kazan. Traces of Caspian Gulfs, formerly taken for old beds of the Amee, intersect the Turcoman territory. Deduction must surely be made for temporary, periodical oscillations. But with all that, desiccation is evident, and it progresses at a formerly unexpected speed. Even in the relatively wet

compose molecules, we now resolve into inconceivably more minute particles, namely, the positively electric ions and the negatively electric corpuscles.

The motions of matter are not only molar, molecular, and atomic, but also intra-atomic, or corpuscular, constituting electrical and radio-active phenomena. The motions of matter reveal themselves in endlessly recurring repetitions and in innumerable similarities of mode.

Conflicts, Similarities, and Systems. — The particles and masses of matter are in ceaseless conflict, bombarding, driving, rending, and in turn compacting one another, in infinitely various ways.

Every phase of growth and of migration exhibited by a population is a mode or a product of conflict: conflict between the population and its inorganic environment, including topography and atmospheric conditions; conflict between the population and the organic world of plant and animal life; conflict between aggregate and aggregate of the population itself.

But among the conflicts that rage among the particles and the masses of matter, there are similarities and repetitions. *Some conflicts are like other conflicts.* Therefore, physical conflicts are not always destructive; they are also constructive; they evolve order. The phenomena of the cosmos reveal a system.

The Laws of Motion. — All motion follows the line of least resistance, and all motions are rhythmical. Every-

parts of South-West Siberia, the succession of reliable surveys, recently published by Yadriusteff, shows that villages have grown up on what was, eighty years ago, the bottom of one of the lakes of the Tchany group; while the other lakes of the same group, which covered hundreds of square miles some fifty years ago, are now mere ponds. In short, the desiccation of North-West Asia goes on at a rate which must be measured by centuries, instead of by the geological units of time of which we formerly used to speak.

where and always these laws have been exemplified in the migrations of men.

Equilibration. — Matter is indestructible; motion is continuous. The matter that disappears in one form reappears in some other. The motion that ceases in one mode is only transformed into some other mode.

In the ceaseless redistributions of matter and motion, motion is continually passing from one body, or aggregate of matter, to another. A body, or aggregate of matter that is highly charged with energy, *i.e.* with molar, molecular, atomic and intra-atomic motions, in contact with a neighboring aggregate less highly charged, loses energy which the neighboring aggregate gains. This process, we have already noted, is called equilibration.

Evolution. — A body or aggregate that is losing motion contracts. Its molecules or other units concentrate. Masses of matter, made up of innumerable molecules, may be drawn or driven together by gravitation or other force. Each of these processes, *i.e.* mere concentration, mass remaining the same, and accumulation, an increase of mass, is called *Integration.* Integration is the beginning of evolution.

All aggregation in a social population is integration, whether it be a mere concentration at certain points of a population previously dispersed, as in the growth of cities at the expense of the country, or whether it be an increase of the total population by immigration from foreign lands.

Different parts of an integrating aggregate are differently or variously exposed to various incident forces. They tend, therefore, to become different in composition, form, or arrangement. This transformation is called *Differentiation.*

An increasing population, distributed over a diversified region, of sea-coast and inland, of lowland, plain, and mountain, becomes differentiated in both physical and mental qualities.

Under the action of any incident force similar units, reacting in like ways, are drawn or driven together. This process is called *Segregation*, or segregative selection.

Segregative selection has been strikingly exhibited in the distribution of the foreign born in the United States. Four-fifths of the whole German immigration is found in the north-central division. The Swedes and Norwegians have sought homes in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois. The Irish have tended to remain in the East, along the coast, from New York to Maine. The Italians have either remained in the great cities, or have tended toward the Southern states.

Integration in the sense of a mere concentration of particles, mass remaining the same, Mr. Spencer has called simple evolution. Differentiation and segregation occur only when an aggregate is integrating slowly, because it is losing energy slowly, or because it had a great deal of energy at the outset, or because, while losing, it is at the same time absorbing motion, as living organic matter does, or as a growing social population does, or as any aggregate whatsoever may when it is adding to itself new matter containing fresh stores of energy from without. Integration, complicated by differentiation and segregation Mr. Spencer calls compound evolution.

The Laws of Evolution. —The foregoing account of the evolutional process closely follows Mr. Spencer's exposition. That exposition may be supplemented by a formu-

lation of certain quantitative laws of evolution which Mr. Spencer seems not to have apprehended.

Economists have long been familiar with certain laws of differential cost and gain. They are commonly called Laws of Increasing and of Diminishing Return. The usual statement of them in the text-books is inadequate. A more accurate and possibly a sufficient statement is that in any given state of industry and the arts, an increasing outlay of labor and capital in agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial operations, conducted upon a given area,[1] will, up to a given limit, yield returns increasing faster than the outlay, and will, beyond that limit, yield returns increasing less rapidly than the outlay.

Now, it can be shown that increasing and diminishing returns, within the realm of economic phenomena, are only special cases of relations that hold good throughout all phenomena, physical, chemical, biological, psychological, and social. The laws of increasing and diminishing return are universal laws. They are laws of universal evolution.

In the evolutionary process "outlay," instead of being made in terms of labor and capital, is made in expenditures of energy, that is to say, in dissipations of motion. The return for this outlay is the total amount of compound evolution. Under certain conditions an increasing expenditure of the energies — original and subsequently acquired — of an aggregate, results in evolutionary changes that extend or multiply more rapidly than the expenditure of energy increases. Under other conditions, evolutionary changes extend or multiply less rapidly than the expenditure of energy increases.

[1] Observe, *space*, not "land."

Chief among the conditions here referred to as determining the rate of evolutionary change, the important ones are, first, the heterogeneity of the elements or materials entering into the aggregate, and, secondly, the kind or quality of the materials.

In homogeneous bodies or aggregates, concentration bears a constant ratio to the loss of internal motion, but in heterogeneous bodies there is no such constant ratio. Concentration may proceed more or less rapidly than the loss of energy, according to the composition of the mass.

Different forms of matter differ one from another in their capacity to contain motion with a given concentration of their particles. That is to say, they differ one from another in energy-storing, energy-conveying, and energy-transforming capacity per unit of volume and of weight, as is seen, for example, in the unequal capacity of woods and metals to convey heat or to transmit electricity.

The general laws which formulate the relation of these facts to the rate of evolution are these: —

1. In a heterogeneous aggregate the amount of transformation, *i.e.* of compound evolution, increases more rapidly than the dissipation of motion, if in the composition of the aggregate, materials of a higher are being substituted for materials of a lower capacity — per unit of weight and of volume — to store, convey, and transform energy, and are being maintained in a perfect working correlation.

2. Conversely, the amount of compound evolution increases less rapidly than the dissipation of motion, if in the composition of the aggregate, materials of a lower are being substituted for materials of a higher capacity — per

unit of weight and of volume — to store, convey, and transform energy, or if they are not maintained in perfect working correlation.[1]

Natural Selection and Survival. — The foregoing laws of evolution are the basis and explanation of the phenomena of natural selection and survival.

In any finite aggregate of competing things or organisms, those survive in which the total amount of evolutionary transformation increases more rapidly than the net expenditure of energy; those perish in which the total quantity of evolutionary transformation increases less rapidly than the net expenditure of energy.

These laws of evolution and of survival are exemplified in biological evolution both in the constitution of organic matter itself, and in the paleontological series.

In all organic matter we find marvellous strength and marvellous capacity to store and to transform energy, in proportion to weight and volume.

In the paleontological series, we see the termination of

[1] Two or three simple illustrations derived from economics must here suffice as indications of innumerable facts upon which the demonstration of these laws rests.

Increasing the returns of a factory of given floor space by increasing the speed of machinery, is possible only if for mechanisms of poorer quality there are substituted boilers, shafting, gearing, etc., of great cohesive strength and great tensile strength in proportion to weight and volume.

The increasing returns of a department store, in proportion to capital invested, have been made possible by the substitution of such devices as the light and diminutive cash carrier apparatus for the relatively clumsy mechanism of a sufficiently large staff of men and women, or of boys and girls, to perform a like function.

The mechanically and commercially possible "skyscraper" has been made possible by revolutionary changes in building materials and construction, including a substitution of light, but immensely strong, steel frames supporting the outer walls as well as the flooring, for massive outer walls supporting an internal structure.

the line of monster organisms and the rise and survival of organisms of less weight and bulk, but of higher biological quality.

In psychological evolution the super-imposition of reason upon instinct is correlated with an increasing complexity of nerve and brain structure, the marks of which are a finer and finer cell mechanism of enormously high energy-conveying and converting capacity in proportion to weight and volume.

In the competition of human races one with another, and of population aggregates one with another, those of high energy-storing and converting capacity per individual have occupied the superior environments and have most vigorously multiplied.

In the evolution of social organization superior corporate forms displace inferior forms only if with a differentiation of departments, a multiplication of officials and a specialization of functions, there is a corresponding improvement in individual efficiency.[1]

[1] For the first publication of this statement of the laws of evolution, see Giddings, *The Laws of Evolution*, *Science*, New Series, Vol. XXII, No. 555, August 18, 1905.

CHAPTER III

Demotic Composition

Variation and Mixture

Genetic aggregation is complicated by variation, which is a mark of all organic evolution. For this reason, and also because genetic aggregation is rarely the only way in which a population grows, a population is a mixture in composition of elements of varying degrees of resemblance from obvious likeness to marked unlikeness.

The physical differences that may be observed in every population include, Organic Variation, Differences of Age, the Difference of Sex, and Degrees of Kinship.

The intermingling of elements unlike in organic constitution, in age, and in sex, and of elements bred of different parent stocks, and having, therefore, unlike qualities and habits, may be called the Demotic Composition.

Organic Variation

Differences of weight, of height, of chest expansion, of head form, and of other measurements, and differences of energy, are among the familiar organic variations which are the basis of many groupings and stratifications of men in every social population.

Age

The familiar distinctions of age in a social population are those designated by the terms "infancy," "childhood,"

"youth," "maturity," and "old age." But in statistical descriptions of populations it is usual to carry out the classification by age periods more minutely, at least by five-year periods.

Sex

Statistics of population show in all communities an approximate balance of the sexes, but seldom equal numbers of males and females. This difference is due in part to the greater migration of men into relatively new and undeveloped regions, and in part to differences between male and female birth rates.

Kinship

The degrees of kinship are, 1, Consanguinity, that narrowest degree which includes those individuals that are most nearly related, as father, mother, and children, brother and sister, grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and aunts, nephews, nieces, and cousins; 2, Propinquity, nearness of blood consequent upon nearness of residence and the numerous intermarriages of those who dwell together in one neighborhood; 3, Nationality, the degree of kinship that includes all those who from birth have been of the same speech and political association; 4, Potential Nationality, that remote relationship which exists while nationality is still in the making of those who dwell together in the same nation or state, and will presently speak the same language, namely the native-born of native parents, plus the native-born of foreign parents, plus the foreign-born; 5, Ethnic Race, that degree of kinship which includes all of those nearly related nationalities that speak closely related languages, and exhibit common psychological characteristics distinguishing them collectively from

other similar great divisions of mankind, *e.g.* the Celtic race, including the Irish, the Welsh, and the non-Saxon Scotch; or the Teutonic race, including the Saxon English, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Scandinavians; 6, Glottic Race, a broad kinship which includes all of those related ethnic races, or parts of ethnic races, which once, at some remote period, had a common culture and spoke the same language, as, *e.g.*, the Aryans; 7, Chromatic Race, that remote degree of relationship which includes all glottic races of the same general color of skin, *e.g.* the white race, the yellow race, the red race, the brown race, the black race; and 8, Cephalic Race, that remote kinship which is manifested in peculiarities of cranial structure, *e.g.* the long-headed, or dolichocephalic, the broad-headed, or brachycephalic.

Demotic Composition: Norway, Maine

The town of Norway is made up of the following tracts, or grants of land, viz.: the tract of land formerly known as Rustfield, purchased by Henry Rust, of Salem, Massachusetts, of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in December, 1787, estimated at six thousand acres; the Lee Grant, estimated at six thousand acres exclusive of water; the Cummings Gore, containing about three thousand and six hundred acres; and three tiers of lots taken from the easterly side of the town of Waterford, viz.: a strip one mile and a half wide, and seven miles long, estimated to contain six thousand seven hundred and twenty acres; and another tract called the "Gore," or "Rust's Gore," lying south of the Waterford three tiers, and bordering on the northerly line of Otisfield.

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1786. — This year five individuals, viz.: Joseph Stevens, Jeremiah Hobbs, Amos Hobbs, and George Lessley, from the town of Gray, came into the place, and felled trees on

the tract called Rustfield, excepting Jeremiah Hobbs, who commenced on the lot easterly of where the Congregational meeting-house now stands, and then supposed to be within the limits of what was afterwards called Rustfield; George Lessley commenced on what has since been known as the Isaiah Hall farm, now owned and occupied by William Frost, 3d, and brothers; Amos Hobbs commenced on the farm where his youngest son, Amos Hobbs, now lives; Joseph Stevens commenced where his youngest son, Simon Stevens, now lives; and Jonas Stevens commenced on the place now owned by Amos F. Noyes and Lorenzo D. Hobbs.

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1787. — In the spring of this year, either the last of April or first of May, Joseph Stevens moved his family, consisting of himself, his wife, and four children.

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In the summer of 1787, William Parsons, John Parsons, and Benjamin Herring, and also Dudley Pike, came into Rustfield, and felled trees in order for a settlement, commencing on the farms where they afterwards lived and died.

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1788. — This year Dudley Pike moved his family into Rustfield, March 26, and had scarcely got into his humble habitation, when the three other pioneers, William Parsons, John Parsons, and Benjamin Herring, arrived at his house, that is, at night on the 27th of March; and the road not being quite as good as at this time, they put up with him for the night, and the next day proceeded to their own habitations, which were nothing but humble log houses. About this time, Lemuel Shed and a Mr. Jonathan Stickney commenced on two adjoining lots on the Waterford plantation, which is now the Waterford three tiers; Stickney on the farm where Benjamin Flint now lives, and Shed where John S. Shed now lives, which is on the Waterford three tiers, and now on the old County road leading from Swift's Corner to Waterford. Shed camped with Stickney on the Flint farm.

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period the Dutch had settled New Amsterdam, the Swedes had come to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the French Huguenots to the Carolinas, the Germans to Pennsylvania, and the Scotch-Irish to Pennsylvania and the valleys leading southward through Virginia to Carolina and Georgia. In the Northwest Territory there were many descendants of the French colonists. Others were added to the American people by the Louisiana purchase, while the acquisition of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California, brought in a Spanish element, most of which, however, presently disappeared into Mexico and Cuba.

It thus appears that the popular notion that the American people were at one time of almost purely English blood, which has since 1820 been suffering dilution through foreign immigration, has never been quite true to fact.

In attracting men of many nationalities our country has exemplified another great law of the action of environment upon a people; in this case we might say in creating a people. A region of few resources or opportunities usually has a homogeneous population, and particularly is this true if the region is isolated. Its population is increased only by a birth-rate in excess of the death-rate. But to regions which offer opportunities of various kinds, men of all tongues come, to commingle there in a free struggle for existence. Regions of agricultural fertility, again, are more likely to have homogeneous populations than are those which offer mineral wealth, manufacturing opportunities, or, above all, opportunities for commerce.

To see how fully this is illustrated in American conditions we have only to glance at the geographical distribution of our foreign born. Of the total foreign born population — 10,356,644 enumerated in 1900, — 4,762,796 were dwelling in the North Atlantic division, 216,030 in the South Atlantic division, 4,158,474 in the North Central division, 357,655 in the South Central division, and 846,321 in the Western division. The North Atlantic division is preëminently the manufacturing and commercial region, closely followed by the North Central. Finally, to take note of the most striking fact of all, the great manufacturing valley of the Merrimac River has a foreign born population of 51.6 per square mile, the valley of the Delaware has 49.6

per square mile, and the valley of the Housatonic has 29.1 per square mile.

In and of themselves the figures of the foreign born and their distribution are not particularly significant. The important question is: Of what ethnic elements is this foreign born population composed? The chief American stock in colonial days was English, notwithstanding the admixture of other nationalities which has been mentioned. Before the Civil War the immigration was chiefly of English and Irish. Then began a great German immigration, followed by a large arrival of Scandinavians, which reached its maximum in the eighties. During the last ten years the immigration from western Europe has fallen off, while that from southern and eastern Europe, including Italy, Austria, and Russia, has increased.

The question of real interest, therefore, is, Will the American people of the future be on the whole English, or Celtic, or Teutonic, or Latin, or Slavic, or will it be some new and hitherto unheard of amalgam of all these elements? Much foolish speculation and more foolish pessimism has been indulged in on this subject. The census returns enable us to answer the question with assurance, yet, curiously, the answer, so far as I know, has never hitherto been worked out from the data at our disposal. Let us see what these data are and what they reveal.

The various nationalities which make up our foreign born population fall naturally into five ethnic groups, namely: the English-Teutonic, including Australians, Danes, English, Finns, Germans, Hollanders, Poland-Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes; the Celtic, including the Irish, the Welsh, and the Scotch; the Celto-Latin, including the Belgians, the French, and the French Canadians; the Ibero-Latin, including the Greeks, the Italians, the Portuguese, and the Spanish; and the Slav, including the Austrians, the Bohemians, the Hungarians, the Poland-Austrians, the Poland-Russians, the Roumanians, and the Russians.

If the census statistics of nationality be classified according to these ethnic groupings it will be found that in the North Atlantic division 35.98 per cent of the foreign born are of the English-Teutonic stocks. In the South Atlantic division 51.63 per cent; in the North Central division

71.44 per cent; in the South Central division 54.22 per cent; and in the Western division 57.53 per cent, are of these stocks. In the entire United States 52.9 per cent of the foreign born are of English-Teutonic stock. In the North Atlantic division 29.40 per cent of the foreign born are Celts; in the South Atlantic division 23.32 per cent; in the North Central division 11.97 per cent; in the South Central division 14.64 per cent; in the Western division 18.77 per cent are Celts. In the whole United States 20.9 of the foreign born are Celts. Practically 75 per cent of the foreign born in America are of English-Teutonic and Celtic stocks. When we remember that the English people was created by the amalgamation of Teutonic with Celtic blood, we see how little reason there is to expect that the American people will ever be anything but essentially English.

The distribution according to ethnic races further illustrates the point already made, that commercial and manufacturing regions become heterogeneous in population, while the great agricultural regions tend more strongly toward homogeneity. The North Atlantic division is becoming highly heterogeneous, with 35.98 per cent of its foreign born English-Teutonic, 29.40 per cent Celtic, 8.16 per cent Celto-Latin, 8.62 per cent Ibero-Latin, 17.12 per cent Slavonic. In the North Central division, embracing the most important farming lands of the country, 71.44 per cent of the foreign born are English-Teutonic, 11.91 per cent are Celtic, 3.32 per cent are Celto-Latin, 1.54 per cent are Ibero-Latin, and 10.23 per cent are Slavonic.

These nationalities and their ethnic groupings represent all three of the great racial subdivisions of the population of Europe. The white race in its entirety is of two great sub-races, the Eur-African and the Eur-Asian. The Eur-African is so called because its habitat since prehistoric times has been Mediterranean Africa, — north of the Sahara, and western Europe. The Eur-Asian is so called because it has dwelled from prehistoric times in central and eastern Europe, and in western Asia. The Eur-African sub-race is distinguished by a head long in proportion to its breadth, — it is dolichocephalic. The Eur-Asian race is brachycephalic, it is broad headed. Another name

for the Eur-Asian race is the Alpine, because its most typical representatives are dwellers in the highlands of central Europe. The Eur-African race is further subdivided into two great branches, namely, the Mediterranean and the Baltic. The Mediterranean man is short in stature, of dark complexion tending to olive, and has black eyes and black hair. The Greeks, the Italians, the Ligurians, the Spaniards, the black eyed Irish, and the black haired, black eyed Welsh, belong to this branch of the Eur-African race. The Baltic race is tall, fair, light eyed, and light haired. Its typical representatives are the Saxons, Scandinavians, Danes, and Rhenish Germans. The physical differences of these three racial varieties are of no particular importance. Their temperamental, emotional, and industrial differences are pronounced and significant. These will engage our attention directly. Here it is enough to remark that the vast majority of the American people hitherto has been of the Baltic race. Now we are getting relatively large numbers of the Mediterranean race, and, for the first time, a large number of the Alpine peoples, especially of Slavs.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Group Migration and Conquest

Demotic composition has resulted not only from organic variation, and from the migration of individuals, but also, throughout history, from the migrations of men in masses, organized in bands or armies, and equipped for conquest.

Invasion of Peloponnesus

Têmenus and his two brothers resolved to attack Peloponnêsus, not by a land-march along the Isthmus, such as that in which Hyllus had been previously slain, but by sea across the narrow inlet between the promontories of Rhium and Antirrhium, with which the Gulf of Corinth commences. According to one story, indeed, — which, however, does not seem to have been known to Herodotus, — they are said to have selected this line of march by the

express direction of the Delphian god, who vouchsafed to expound to them an oracle which had been delivered to Hyllus in the ordinary equivocal phraseology. Both the Ozolian Lokrians, and the Ætolians, inhabitants of the northern coast of the Gulf of Corinth, were favorable to the enterprise, and the former granted to them a port for building their ships, from which memorable circumstance the port ever afterwards bore the name of Naupaktus. Aristodêmus was here struck with lightning and died, leaving twin sons, Eurysthenês and Proklês; but his remaining brothers continued to press the expedition with alacrity.

GROTE, *History of Greece*, Vol. II. 3.

Compound Populations

Populations that have been made composite by military invasion, and the subsequent intermingling of invaders with invaded, may be described as compound.

The Population of Thessaly

In other respects, the condition of the population of Thessaly, such as we find it during the historical period, favors the supposition of an original mixture of conquerors and conquered: for it seems that there was among the Thessalians and their dependents a triple gradation, somewhat analogous to that of Laconia. First, a class of rich proprietors distributed throughout the principal cities, possessing most of the soil, and constituting separate oligarchies, loosely hanging together. Next, the subject Achæans, Magnêtes, Perrhæbi, differing from the Laconian Periœki in this point, that they retained their ancient tribe-name and separate Amphiktyonic franchise. Thirdly, a class of serfs, or dependent cultivators, corresponding to the Laconian Helots, who, tilling the lands of the wealthy oligarchs, paid over a proportion of its produce, furnished the retainers by which these great families were surrounded, served as their followers in the cavalry, and were in a condition of villanage, — yet with the important reserve, that

they could not be sold out of the country, that they had a permanent tenure in the soil, and that they maintained among one another the relations of family and village.

GROTE, *History of Greece*, Vol. II. 278–279.

The Population of Gaul

That the Gauls imposed the Celtic language upon the peoples whom they found in possession of Gaul, can be proved to demonstration. Assuming, what is not proved, that the Gallic conquerors were greatly inferior in numbers to the people whom they conquered, there is abundant evidence that a conquering minority may and frequently has imposed its language upon a subject population. As Canon Taylor remarks, "The negroes in Haiti and the Mauritius speak French; in Cuba, Spanish; in Jamaica, English; in Brazil, Portuguese. In Mexico the pure-blooded Aztecs, who form the larger part of the population, speak Spanish." It is quite true that there are plenty of instances on the other side; the Normans who conquered England, the Goths and the Burgundians learned the languages of their subjects. But in these cases the conquerors, besides being numerically inferior, were also either less civilized or not more civilized than the peoples whom they conquered. The inhabitants of Gaul were far superior in numbers to the Roman conquerors who settled among them: but their language is a Romance language. But what I have said only shows that the Gauls might have imposed their language upon their subjects. There is abundant evidence that they did. Putting aside certain geographical names, such as *Sequana*, which may be Ligurian, the vast majority of the names of places and people in Gaul are Celtic. Is it credible that the chiefs of the conquering race should have been called by names which were not their own but those of their subjects? Is it credible that the chiefs of the conquering race should have been called by Celtic names, if Celtic was not the language which they brought with them? Wherever history tells us that the Gauls or the Celts (I use the word not in M. Hovelacque's sense but in the sense of Polybius) conquered or settled, there we find traces of the Celtic tongue.

The Gauls who invaded Lombardy had perhaps not come from Gaul at all, but from the basin of the Danube: yet their names were Celtic. The Gauls conquered Gaul, and people and places bore Celtic names: they made conquests in Germany and Switzerland, and there we find abundant linguistic traces of their occupation. The Celts settled in certain parts of Spain; and names like Segobriga and Nemetobriga bear witness to their presence. They settled in Asia Minor; and they spoke Celtic, and their chiefs bore Celtic names. Belgic Gauls settled in Britain; and Celtic is still spoken in the British Isles. Yet, if Broca is to be believed, there never were any Celts, in the sense in which he uses the word, in Britain; there is not a single brachycephalic district in the country. As M. Zaborowski remarks, Celtic names exist in places where "notre type celtique, celui des anthropologistes, n'a jamais existé;" the Baltic was known as *Morimarusa*.

I regard it, then, as certain that when the Gallic conquerors entered Gaul, they brought the Celtic language with them; and, inasmuch as Celtic is more closely akin to Latin than to German, it is clear that the tall, fair Gauls, if they had been originally one with the tall, fair Germans, had long since branched off from them; and it is therefore probable that the physical types of the two peoples had become to some degree differentiated. N. Fréret remarks that Celts and Germans must have become greatly intermixed during the long sojourn of the former in Germany; and the same thought had often presented itself to my own mind before I read Fréret's book. But is it absolutely certain that when the Celts began to migrate from Germany into Gaul, the tall, fair Germans had long established themselves in Germany? Is it certain that the pressure of their invasion was not the motive of the Celtic emigration?

T. Rice Holmes, *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul*, 312–313.

Population of the Isle of Man

Both the Gaelic and Norse languages were almost certainly spoken in Man during this period. The masters would speak Norse among themselves; the law and all

public transactions at the Tynwald and elsewhere would be in that tongue, while the servants or slaves, and probably many of the women, would usually speak Gaelic. It is clear, however, from the vast preponderance of Celtic place-names and surnames over Scandinavian that the women's tongue soon predominated, and that, when Scandinavian rule came to an end, the Norse language soon disappeared.

A. W. Moore, *A History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. I. 157.

Population of Austria-Hungary

While the growth of national feeling in Hungary and Croatia was tending at once to a healthier life and to dangerous divisions, a much more remarkable awakening of new and separate life was showing itself in the province of Transylvania. The geographical isolation of that province from the rest of Hungary is very striking, even now that railways have connected the different parts of the Kingdom; but in 1848 this isolation was far greater and had a considerable effect on the political history of the time. The Carpathians almost surround the country, and form a natural bulwark. Between this high wall of mountains on the north-east and Buda-Pesth stretches a vast plain. No province of the Empire contained a greater variety of separately organized nations. The Transylvanian Diet was not, like the other local assemblies, the result of an attempt to express the feelings of a more or less united people, but arose merely from the endeavor to give reasonable solidity to an alliance between three distinct peoples. Of the three ruling races, the first to enter Transylvania were the Szekler, a people of the same stock as the Magyar, but slower to take the impress of any permanent civilization. They conquered the original inhabitants of the country, a race probably of mixed Dacian and Roman blood, called Wallachs or Roumanians. Towards the end of the ninth century came in the Magyars, before whom the Szekler retreated to the north-east, where the town of Maros-Vasarhely became their capital. This town is on the River Maros, which, rising in the Carpathians, flows all across Transylvania.

The Magyars in the meantime extended their rule over all parts of Hungary, but the position which they gained in Transylvania was one of much less undisputed supremacy than that which they established in Northern Hungary; for in the former province they remained a second nation, existing by the side of the Szekler, neither conquering nor absorbing them.

Much of the country, however, was still uncolonized, and was liable to inroads from dangerous neighbours; so in the twelfth century a number of German citizens who lived along the Rhine, and some of the German Knights who were seeking adventures, came into Transylvania to offer their services to the King of Hungary. The German Knights were unable to come to a satisfactory agreement with the King, and went north to try to civilize the Prussians; but the citizens remained, acquired land, developed trade, and developed, also, a power of self-government of which neither Szekler nor Magyar were at that time capable. That portion of the country which has been colonized by the Saxons has a look of greater neatness and comfort than the rest. The little homesteads are almost English in their appearance, with occasionally, gardens and orchards. Hermannstadt, the capital of this district, bears traces of its former greatness in several fine old churches, a law academy, and picture gallery. Its fortifications must have been almost impregnable in old times, with strong watch-towers and walls of great height. The portions of the walls that remain show marks of the sieges of 1849. The Carpathians, on the south-east, are many miles distant, but the Rothenturm Pass, through which the terrible Russian force made its way into the country, is visible in some lights.

These three ruling nations — Magyar, the Szekler, and the Saxon — though separate in their organization, had more than one common interest. They were united by a common love of freedom, and a common temptation to tyranny. In 1438 they formed a union against the Turks, which in 1459 was changed into a union in support of their freedoms and privileges, "for protection against inward and outward enemies, against oppression from above or insurrection from below." And when, in the seventeenth

century, they separated for a time from Hungary, the three nations accepted the Prince of Transylvania as their head.

C. E. MAURICE. *Revolutions of 1848–9 in Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany*, 107–110.

Degree of Homogeneity

The homogeneity or the heterogeneity of a population affected by organic variation, and by migration of individuals or of groups, is obviously a fact of ever-changing degree. Especially in respect of nationality and race, a population may be either relatively homogeneous, or, having been homogeneous, it may be in process of becoming heterogeneous. On the other hand, being or having been heterogeneous, it may be in process of becoming homogeneous.

Causes of Demotic Composition

The proximate causes of demotic composition have already been named. They are organic variation and migration. The ultimate causes are to be looked for in the characteristics of the physical environment.

Environment and Demotic Composition

In the environment that is both poor and isolated population is not only sparse, but it is relatively simple and homogeneous in composition. It is maintained only by its birth rate, and it increases only if its birth rate is in excess of its death rate. It is a genetic aggregation. Extreme examples of this environment and of the structure of its population are afforded by the coasts of Greenland, the Aleutian Islands, the southern extremity of South America, and the interior regions of Australia.

In the environment that is poor but accessible, or, what in this instance is more to the point, admits of easy egress, the population again is a genetic aggregation. The attractions and inducements are not sufficient to bring immigration. But neither are they sufficient in all cases to keep the men born within its borders, and, escape being relatively easy, many of the most energetic emigrate to better lands. Here, in the concrete, the process of selection is seen going on in the form of response to stimulus. The resources of other environments in some degree awaken the desire of all the inhabitants of the impoverished land, but only those that are relatively enterprising and energetic are moved to better their condition. The result is a gradual deterioration of the stock remaining in the land. It is bred from the leavings that have been incapable of efficiently responding to the stimulus of larger opportunities. The most interesting modern examples of such environments are those extensive tracts of upland or hill country in the North Atlantic states, especially in the New England states, that once had prosperous farming populations, but now are inhabited only by unambitious families presenting the unmistakable marks of degeneration.

The third type of environment is that which is both rich in resources and relatively isolated or inaccessible. The interior of the Arabian peninsula, the Hawaiian Islands, the Samoan Islands, and the islands of Tahiti, are good examples. So also are the uplands of Mexico and Peru. Here again the population is a great kinship, a genetic aggregation. It is relatively dense. The birth rate is high, and every inequality of energy or ability counts in the struggle for existence. The people alike respond to the bounty of nature and develop those simple forms of economic activity that often are sufficient to create a fair degree of prosperity. The isolation of such a population while it lasts determines the whole course of social evolution, but it is relative. Sooner or later, or perhaps repeatedly at long intervals, it yields to migration. An increasing pressure of the native born upon the means of subsistence at length forces some of the more vigorous elements to break through confining barriers, and as conquerors, or otherwise, to seek distant homes; or the natural resources

and the acquired prosperity enjoyed by the inhabitants become a stimulus of sufficient power to tempt distant populations to invade and exploit.

There remain environments of the fourth type, richly bountiful in resources and so accessible that men may flock to them from all quarters of the world. Such are the great river valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, seats of the most ancient civilizations, of the Po, the Danube and the Rhine, highways of the nations from an immemorial past; of the Seine and the Thames; and, in our own land, the Mississippi basin. Such also are many favored coasts, abounding in inlets and sheltering ports. In all such environments population must sooner or later be composite, and the more so if their resources are not only abundant, but also varied.

The composition, however, is determined in the long run by two co-operating processes. Aboriginal populations are overrun by invaders, who come not as individuals, but as organized bands, or armies equipped for conquest. Populations that have attained a measure of economic advancement are now and again overrun by hosts of ruder people that have been dwelling in relatively unkindly habitats. Further conquests also may follow, after civilization has been attained by both the invaders and the invaded, if the civilization of the invaders is still of the military type. When, however, industrial civilizations of the modern type have been reached, further migration is a movement of individuals.

It happens, therefore, that with few if any exceptions the populations of the most favored environments are both compound and composite: compound as being made up of successive strata of conquered and conquerors, and composite, as being made up of immigrant individuals scattered among the native-born. In time all of these elements are in some degree amalgamated. The amalgamation of invaded and invaders, however, is determined largely by the physical characteristics of the region itself. If they are such as to tempt the invaders to scatter themselves throughout the land as local overlords, while at the same time maintaining a general distribution of the invaded or conquered, the possibilities of amalgamation are far greater

than when for any reason either stratum is geographically concentrated. This seems to have been the history of the thoroughgoing amalgamation of Celtic and Teutonic elements in the midland and western counties of England.

When an immigration of individuals begins to bring important additions to a compound population, the foreign-born element itself may be more or less composite. And this circumstance again is determined by the character of the physical environment. If the natural resources, while great, are all of one kind, and especially if they are predominantly agricultural, the inhabitants are far more homogeneous than if the resources are in mineral wealth, or, above all, if they are varied, including commercial and manufacturing opportunities. Thus, we have seen that the foreign-born population of the northern Mississippi Valley is predominantly Teutonic, while that of the North Atlantic states is composite in the highest degree. Practically, however, an environment of homogeneous resources is usually but part of a larger geographic unity that is occupied by one entire people, and that in the aggregate includes resources of varied kinds. This integral geographic unity inevitably has a population that not only is largely congregate, rather than genetic, in origin, but that also is in a high degree composite.

GIDDINGS, *A Theory of Social Causation*, *Publications of the American Economic Association*, Third Series, Vol. V., quoted *infra* as *T. S. C.*

Amalgamation and Demotic Unity

While organic variation and emigration are continually tending to increase the heterogeneity of a population, amalgamation, or the physical blending of different physical types through intermarriage, is usually tending to establish homogeneity, or demotic unity.

The following selections show how amalgamation in ancient days produced some of the stocks that in modern times have been migrating from the old to the new world to enter into further combinations here.

Gaels

The Gaels in Ireland and Scotland, says Dr. Beddoe, are probably "Iberians," crossed with a "long-faced, harsh-featured, red-haired race, who contributed the language and much of the character." The "dolichocephalous Celt" of the Scottish Highlands, says the same writer, comprehends both Galatic and Iberian elements, if not others. Some of the leading points of this type, he goes on to say, *are prevalent wherever Gaelic is known to have been spoken.* T. RICE HOLMES, *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul*, 314.

Manxmen

But emigration to Ireland and the Sudreys did not take place, to any great extent, till after the battle of Hafursfjord, fought about 883, in which Harold Haarfager conquered the petty Kings of Norway, and made himself sole sovereign of the country. His rule was felt oppressively by the Vikings, whom he deprived of their *odal*, or freehold, right to the land, and reduced to the position of military tenants. Many of them, rather than submit, emigrated to the Nordreys and Sudreys, as well as to Iceland and Ireland, and formed a ruling class there, which gradually amalgamated with the native inhabitants to such an extent that the mixed race was called *Gallgaidhel*, *Galgael*, or Stranger-Gaels, by their Irish and Scottish neighbors.

A. W. MOORE, *A History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. I. 86.

Arthurian Britons and Norsemen

Arthur which was sometimes the most renowned King of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This Kingdome was too little for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are apperteining unto Norway, Sweveland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands and Islands of the East

sea, even unto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, even under the north pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and savage, and had not in them the love of God nor of their neighbors, because all evill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Christians living in secret. But King Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worship one God, and to receive and keepe inviolably for ever, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wives of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this Kingdome. The aforesayd King Arthur obteined also in those days of the Pope & Court of Rome, that Norway should be for ever annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the enlargement of this Kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with us in this Kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne native countrey, which is drie and full of mountains, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitful, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase: for which cause many cruell battels have bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people have been slaine, & the Norses have possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which unto this day they doe possesse, neither could they ever afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with us by the receiving of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wives of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For so the good King Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted unto them by the generall consent of the whole Kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from henceforth dwell and remaine in this Kingdome with us as our loving sworne brethren.

GALFRIDUS MONUMETENSIS, *Historie of the Kings of Britaine*, Certeine testimonies concerning King Arthur and his conquests of the North regions, *Hakluyt's Voyages* (edition of 1903), Vol. I. 6-7.

PART II

THE SOCIAL MIND

CHAPTER I

Factors and Formation of the Social Mind

Stimulation and Response

The simplest psychophysical process that takes place in the nervous system is the response of nervous matter to an external stimulus.

Nature of Nervous Phenomena. — The stimulation of a sense organ is normally followed by a twofold result. One effect is sensation, an elementary fact of consciousness. The other effect is a muscular movement called a reflex. In these pages the phrase "Response to Stimulus" will denote both sensation and reflex, and all their combinations and products, including perceptions, ideas, thoughts, emotions, and voluntary movements.

Primary and Secondary Stimulation and Response. — Nervous changes, themselves responses to stimulus, may in their turn react upon nerve substance, becoming then themselves stimuli of yet further responses. In like manner, ideas and emotions, complex products of response, also are stimuli. Consequently, we have to classify both stimuli and response as Primary and Secondary, or as Original and Derived.

Original or primary stimuli include: fellow beings; the concrete objects of nature; the concrete events of nature; the bounty of nature, especially those food supplies that are available without the putting forth of forethought or labor; the order or succession of events in nature; danger and menace; and, to the higher animals and to men, expected prey, booty, or plunder.

Derived or secondary stimuli are for the most part products not only of activities that go on in the individual nervous system, but also largely of activities that already have become social phenomena as a consequence of like-response by many individuals and of their communication with one another.

Laws of Stimulation and Response. — Like all purely physical phenomena, the psychophysical phenomena of stimulation and response obey the laws of motion in the line of least resistance and of differential or quantitatively varying, returns.

The Subjective Aspect

When we analyze all psychophysical processes into stimulation and response, and then in like manner explain all of the more complicated mental processes, we are regarding them objectively. To the objective aspect there corresponds a subjective aspect. Thoughts, emotions, voluntary movements, are accompanied by feeling, and often by those states of mind variously known as choice, purpose, or will, and mankind is accustomed to interpret voluntary activity, that is to say, conduct, in terms of feeling, or of will. Feeling or purpose, viewed as the antecedent of conduct, is commonly called motive.

The Ultimate Motive. — The ultimate motive of volun-

tary activity, both mental and muscular, is the persistent desire of consciousness to be clear and painless, and, if possible, pleasurable. Consciousness is intolerant of obscurity, perplexity, obstruction, and suffering.

The Law of Least Effort. — It is a corollary of this fundamental truth that consciousness endeavors to attain painless clearness, or positive pleasure, with least difficulty, which is a mode of either perplexity or pain. This principle may be called the Law of Least Effort; and it is analogous to the physical law of motion in the line of least resistance.

Modes of Least Effort. — All knowledge proceeds through a comparison of the unknown with the known. If, in the object hitherto unknown, we can find something that recalls a state of consciousness heretofore experienced, we have to that extent diminished the difficulties of our observation or investigation. Classification, or the grouping of things in accordance with their essential and permanent resemblances, enables us to extend our knowledge to a degree that would be impossible if we had no other means of dealing with new experiences but that of carrying every detail consciously in mind.

In like manner, in our voluntary activities we proceed from the tried and familiar to the untried and the experimental.

These, then, are the important modes of least effort, namely, procedure to the unknown from the known; to the untried from the tried.

Subjective Aspect of Diminishing Return. — The physical law of diminishing return has its correlative principle in subjective phenomena. All our satisfactions are governed by it. In the satisfaction of appetite, for ex-

ample, a point is reached beyond which successive increments of any given kind of food, as meat or bread, afford us less and less gratification. This principle is the foundation of the whole economic theory of utility and value. A negative aspect of it is the further principle that beyond a certain point any given mode of effort becomes increasingly irksome, and finally intolerably painful.

Diversification of Satisfactions. — But while additional quantities of the same means of satisfaction fail to afford us proportionately large returns of pleasure, we may, nevertheless, by changing the means of satisfaction, for a time obtain increasing returns with diminished effort. Therefore, it is a deduction from the law of least effort that we seek to vary our means of satisfaction.

In this search, however, we are still governed by the law of least effort. We seek our means of satisfaction first among objects and activities with which we are already familiar, or that are most like things with which we are familiar.

Modes of Activity

The activities of mind and body which together constitute the total response to stimulation, or, subjectively viewed, the total effort impelled by motive, assume definite and practical modes, and concentrate themselves upon practical achievements. They seize upon the facts of experience, and organize them into knowledge, preferences, and values, — Appreciation. They seize upon objects of the external world and convert them to use, — Utilization. They adapt or accommodate the conscious individual himself to his situation, — Characterization. And, finally, they adapt or accommodate conscious individuals to one another, — Socialization.

Causes Differentiating the Modes of Activity. — This differentiation of the modes of activity is caused, like variation throughout the inorganic and the organic world, by the universal processes of conflict and of the equilibration of energy. Activity takes the line of least resistance or of least effort, and increasing resistance or diminishing return in any given direction diverts it into new channels.

Unlike- and Like-Response

All the modes of practical activity objectively viewed are modes of response to stimulus, and all may be observed in the life of a single individual, who, however, is not uninfluenced by fellow beings.

Unlike-Response. — Not all individuals respond to the same given stimulus in like ways, or to any stimulation with equal promptness, or with equal energy and extent of mental and physical activity. From differences of response in kind, in degree, and in completeness, spring innumerable phenomena of unlike interest, antagonism, conflict, rivalry, and competition.

Like-Response. — From time to time, however, we observe coexisting individuals who are so constituted that they respond in like ways to the same stimulus. From like-response spring the phenomena of agreement and coöperation. It is the beginning of that mental and practical resemblance, the basis of that consciousness of kind, and the inception of that concerted activity which are the essential factors of society.

Stimulation and Response: Social Life in Ancient Wales

Causation in society is not at one extreme a merely physical process; nor is it, at the other extreme, an outworking of some mysterious entity called free-will, that is in no

wise conditioned by the external world. Like the activity of the individual mind, it is a psycho-physical process, in which physical stimuli, on the one hand, and motor-reactions, accompanied by feeling and by thought, on the other hand, are inseparably associated.

Accepting this hint, we make the initial assumption that the institutions of human society, and all the events of history, including the migrations of men from place to place, the great enthusiasms, the intellectual awakenings, the wars and the revolutions, may be regarded as responses to varying stimuli, and that they are governed by certain laws of combination, or by certain facts of resemblance or of difference among the minds responding.

The illuminating aid of concrete example will help to make this somewhat unfamiliar way of looking at the subject more definite and real. In the codes of ancient law that have come down to us from peoples emerging from a tribal into a civic life, there are pictures of spontaneous social action that, by reason of their relative simplicity, enable us to see the essential nature of social processes more distinctly than we do when we observe the exceeding complexity of modern institutional activity. Of such pictures I know of none more clearly reflecting the social process as a psychological phenomenon than do those curious and beautiful triads of Dyvnwal Moelmud that are included in the *Ancient Laws of Wales*. In simple language, almost poetical in form, the various occasions that draw men together in mote, or meeting, are described. Here are examples: —

5. There are three motes of mutual protection: an outpouring mote; mast gathering; and co-tillage. Herein the hand of everyone is required to assist according to his ability.

6. There are three horn motes: the assembling of the country by elders and chiefs of kindreds; the horn of harvest; and the horn of battle and war, against the molestation of a border country and strangers.

14. There are three motes of consociation: a convention of a country and elders, arranging the laws and judgments of a common country; bards as teachers of sciences, where they assemble in session; and the congress of a kindred, at a meeting for worship on the principal high festivals.

15. There are three motes of imminent attack: the inroad of a border country enemy; the cry, or the horn, of murder and waylaying; and a hamlet on fire: for assistance is required from everybody.

16. There are three horns of joint mote: the horn of harvest; the horn of pleadings; and the horn of worship.

17. There are three motes of commotion: the horn of the country; ships from a strange country effecting a landing; and the non-return of the messenger of a country and elders from a foreign country.

18. There are three motes of request: for tillage; festal games; and burning of woods; for, upon a request, they are not to be impeded.

21. There are three motes of pursuit: after a wolf; after thieves; and after a mad dog; and all who shall hear the cry are to assemble together.

22. There are three outpouring motes: the approach of strangers without permission; the depredation of a border country; and a pack of wolves.

26. There are three motes of banishment: for murder and waylaying; treason against the state, or treachery to the country and kindred; and irretrievable spoliation; for it is required of everybody, of every sex and age within hearing of the horn, in the direction taken, to accompany the progress of that exile; and keep up the barking of dogs, to the period of putting to sea, and until the one banished shall have gone three score hours out of sight.

The social process revealed by these pictures of a simple community life does not admit of misinterpretation. Not only is each example of collective action a response to stimulus, but it is even so conceived by the writer of the triads, who, in turn, represents the people as themselves thinking of the social process in such terms. The horn, the cry, the alarm, are deliberately used as stimuli, supplementing the stimuli that would be afforded by mere perception or rumor of certain events or opportunities. The hastening together of the people in public mote or meeting, in its turn, is not only a spontaneous response, but even one that has in it the elements of conscious knowledge that such response is expected, whenever the horn or other alarm is heard.

GIDDINGS, *T. S. C.*

Like-Response: The Anointing of Solomon

And Zadoc the priest took the horn of oil out of the tent, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, Long live king Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them.

I Kings, Chap. i. 39–40.

Like-Response: A Greek Election

The senate, as I said before, consisted of those who were Lycurgus's chief aiders and assistants in his plans. The vacancies he ordered to be supplied out of the best and most deserving men past sixty years old, and we need not wonder if there was much striving for it; for what more glorious competition could there be amongst men, than one in which it was not contested who was swiftest among the swift or strongest of the strong, but who of many wise and good was wisest and best, and fittest to be intrusted for ever after, as the reward of his merits, with the supreme authority of the Commonwealth, and with power over the lives, franchises, and highest interests of all his countrymen? The manner of their election was as follows: the people being called together, some selected persons were locked up in a room near the place of election, so contrived that they could neither see nor be seen, but could only hear the noise of the assembly without; for they decided this, as most other affairs of moment, by the shouts of the people. This done, the competitors were not brought in and presented all together, but one after another by lot, and passed in order through the assembly without speaking a word. Those who were locked up had writing-tables with them, in which they recorded and marked each shout by its loudness, without knowing in favor of which candidate each of them was made, but merely that they came first, second, third, and so forth. He who was found to have the most and loudest acclamations was declared senator duly elected.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by A. H. CLOUGH, 40.

Like- and Unlike-Response: Pagans and Christians

In consequence of this opinion, it was the first but arduous duty of a Christian to preserve himself pure and undefiled by the practice of idolatry. The religion of the nations was not merely a speculative doctrine professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven

with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life; and it seemed impossible to escape the observance of them, without, at the same time, renouncing the commerce of mankind and all the offices and amusements of society. The important transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices, in which the magistrate, the senator, and the soldier were obliged to preside or participate. The public spectacles were an essential part of the cheerful devotion of the Pagans, and the gods were supposed to accept, as the most grateful offering, the games that the prince and people celebrated in honor of their peculiar festivals. The Christian, who with pious horror avoided the abomination of the circus or the theatre, found himself encompassed with infernal snares in every convivial entertainment, as often as his friends, invoking the hospitable deities, poured out libations to each other's happiness. When the bride, struggling with well-affected reluctance, was forced in hymenæal pomp over the threshold of her new habitation, or when the sad procession of the dead slowly moved towards the funeral pile; the Christian, on these interesting occasions was compelled to desert the persons who were the dearest to him, rather than contract the guilt inherent to those impious ceremonies. Every art and every trade that was in the least concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was polluted by the stain of idolatry; a severe sentence, since it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community, which is employed in the exercise of liberal or mechanic professions.

GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II. 16–17.

Like-Response: Riding the Skimmington

The following are the principal causes for riding the Skimmington: —

1. When a man and his wife quarrel, and he gives up to her. 2. When a woman is unfaithful to her husband, and he patiently submits without resenting her conduct. 3. Any grossly licentious conduct on the part of married persons.

The first cause appears to answer that recorded in *Hudibras*, canto II, line 685. The knight having mis-

taken a Skimmington for some other procession, is undeceived as follows: —

> "Quoth Ralpho, 'You mistake the matter;
> For all th' antiquity you smatter
> Is but *a riding used of course*
> *When the grey mare's the better horse.*
> When o'er the breeches greedy women
> Fight to extend their vast dominion,
> And in the cause impatient Grizzle
> Has drubbed her husband with ——
> And brought him under covert-baron
> To turn her vassal with a murrain;
>
> * * * * *
> * * * * *
>
> And they, in mortal battle vanquished,
> Are of their charter disenfranchised.'"

About dusk two individuals, one armed with a skimmer, the other with a ladle, come out of some obscure street, attended by a crowd, whose laughter, huzzas, etc., emulate the well-known *charivari* of the French. The two performers are sometimes in a cart, at other times on a donkey; one personating the wife, the other the husband. They beat each other furiously with the culinary weapons above described, and warmed by the applause and presence of so many spectators (for all turn out to see a Skimmington), their dialogue attains a freedom, except in using surnames, only comparable with their gestures. On arriving at the house of the parties represented in this moving drama, animation is at its height: the crowd usually stay at that spot some minutes, and then traverse the town. The performers are remunerated by the spectators: the parties that parade the streets with the performers sweep with besoms the doors of those who are likely to require a similar visitation. See Dr. King's *Miscellany:* —

> "When the young people ride the Skimmington,
> There is a general trembling in the town;
> Not only he for whom the party rides
> Suffers, but they sweep other doors besides;
> And by that hieroglyphic does appear
> That the good woman is the master there."

Mr. Donce derives *Skimmington* from the *skimming-ladle* used in the procession.

G. Roberts, *Social History of the Southern Counties of England*, 535–536.

Unlike- and Like-Response: to Whitefield's Revival Preaching

In spite however of scenes such as this, England remained at heart religious. In the middle class the old Puritan spirit lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth at the close of Walpole's administration, which changed after a time the whole tone of English society.

* * * * * * *

The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students, whose revolt against the religious deadness of their times showed itself in ascetic observances, an enthusiastic devotion, and a methodical regularity of life which gained them the nickname of "Methodists." Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738 it attracted public attention by the fervour and even extravagance of its piety; and each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns, or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was shown when a dread of "enthusiasm" closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church, and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labour the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down

from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears "making white channels down their blackened cheeks." On the rough and ignorant masses to whom they spoke the effect of Whitefield and his fellow Methodists was mighty both for good and ill. Their preaching stirred a passionate hatred in their opponents. Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. Women fell down in convulsions; strong men were smitten suddenly to the earth; the preacher was interrupted by bursts of hysteric laughter or of hysteric sobbing. All the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, so familiar now, but at that time strange and unknown, followed on their sermons; and the terrible sense of a conviction of sin, a new dread of hell, a new hope of heaven, took forms at once grotesque and sublime.

GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, 736–737.

Like-Response: The Federal Volunteer Army

So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Special Session Message* (July 1861).

Inter-stimulation and Response

The phenomena of like-response to the same given stimulus cannot long continue in the same aggregation of individuals, or frequently be repeated there without undergoing complication. Among the inevitable and most frequent stimuli operating upon each individual of an aggregate are the presence and activities of fellow beings. Each individual, in his turn, is a complex of stimuli to his fellows. Thus within a group responding in like ways to

common stimuli there arise important secondary phenomena of Inter-stimulation and Response.

The process of inter-stimulation assumes various modes or phases, all of which are highly important elements in social phenomena.

In one of its phases all inter-stimulation is Communication, and it includes all possible modes of communication, from that instinctive expression of emotion which is so prominent a feature of animal life, to the most indirect and artificial methods of transmitting ideas among civilized men. It includes Suggestion and Impression, and all the forms of Example the response to which constitutes Imitation in all its modes. Finally, inter-stimulation and response together, include all possible modes of Conflict and all modes of Association among animate beings, including that Expansive Association which takes the forms of travel, commerce, and war.

Communication. — Some degree of communication between any two or more individuals in the presence of one another is inevitable. They cannot wholly conceal their states of mind from one another, even if they consciously try to do so. Developed communication, however, is a product of complex motives that appear only in connection with other phenomena presently to be described.

Beginnings of Communication

With social animals, the power of intercommunication between the members of the same community — and, with other species, between the opposite sexes, as well as between the young and the old — is of the highest importance to them. This is generally effected by means of the voice, but it is certain that gestures and expressions are to a certain extent mutually intelligible. Man not only uses

inarticulate cries, gestures, and expressions, but has invented articulate language; if, indeed, the word *invented* can be applied to a process completed by innumerable steps, half-consciously made. Any one who has watched monkeys will not doubt that they perfectly understand each other's gestures and expression, and to a large extent, as Rengger asserts, those of man. An animal when going to attack another, or when afraid of another, often makes itself appear terrible, by erecting its hair, thus increasing the apparent bulk of its body, by showing its teeth, or brandishing its horns, or by uttering fierce sounds.

As the power of intercommunication is certainly of high service to many animals, there is no *a priori* improbability in the supposition that gestures manifestly of an opposite nature to those by which certain feelings are already expressed should at first have been voluntarily employed under the influence of an opposite state of feeling. The fact of the gestures being now innate would be no valid objection to the belief that they were first intentional; for, if practised during many generations, they would probably at last be inherited. Nevertheless, it is more than doubtful, as we shall immediately see, whether any of the cases which come under our present head of antithesis have thus originated.

With conventional signs which are not innate, such as those used by the deaf and dumb and by savages, the principle of opposition or antithesis has been partially brought into play. The Cistercian monks thought it sinful to speak, and, as they could not avoid holding some communication, they invented a gesture language, in which the principle of opposition seems to have been employed. Dr. Scott, of the Exeter Deaf and Dumb Institution, writes to me that "opposites are greatly used in teaching the deaf and dumb, who have a lively sense of them." Nevertheless I have been surprised how few unequivocal instances can be adduced. This depends partly on all the signs having commonly had some natural origin; and partly on the practice of the deaf and dumb and of savages to contract their signs as much as possible for the sake of rapidity. Hence their natural source or origin often becomes doubtful, or is completely lost; as is likewise the case with articulate language.

DARWIN, *Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals*, 60.

The Tidings of Absalom's Death

Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, Let me now run, and bear the king tidings, how that Jehovah hath avenged him of his enemies. And Joab said unto him, Thou shalt not be the bearer of tidings this day, but thou shalt bear tidings another day: but this day thou shalt bear no tidings, because the king's son is dead. Then said Joab to the Cushite, Go tell the king what thou hast seen. And the Cushite bowed himself unto Joab, and ran. Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok yet again to Joab, But come what may, let me, I pray thee, also run after the Cushite. And Joab said, Wherefore wilt thou run, my son, seeing that thou wilt have no reward for the tidings? But come what may, *said he*, I will run. And he said unto him, Run. Then Ahimaaz ran by the way of the Plain, and overran the Cushite.

Now David sat between the two gates: and the watchman went up to the roof of the gate unto the wall, and lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, a man running alone. And the watchman cried, and told the king. And the king said, If he be alone, there is tidings in his mouth. And he came apace, and drew near. And the watchman saw another man running: and the watchman called unto the porter, and said, Behold, *another* man running alone. And the king said, He also bringeth tidings. And the watchman said, Me thinketh the running of the foremost is like the running of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok. And the king said, He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings. And Ahimaaz called, and said unto the king, All is well. And he bowed himself before the king with his face to the earth, and said, Blessed be Jehovah thy God, who hath delivered up the men that lifted up their hand against my lord the king. And the king said, Is it well with the young man Absalom? And Ahimaaz answered, When Joab sent the king's servant, even me thy servant, I saw a great tumult, but I knew not what it was. And the king said, Turn aside, and stand here. And he turned aside, and stood still. And, behold, the Cushite came; and the Cushite said, Tidings for my lord the king: for Jehovah hath avenged thee this day of all them that rose up

against thee. And the king said unto the Cushite, Is it well with the young man Absalom? And the Cushite answered, The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise up against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man is. And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!

II Samuel, Chap. xviii. 19–33.

Publication of Ahasuerus's Decrees

Then were the king's scribes called in the first month, on the thirteenth day thereof, and there was written according to all that Haman commanded unto the king's satraps, and to the governors that were over every province, and to the princes of every people; to every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language; in the name of king Ahasuerus was it written, and it was sealed with the king's ring. And letters were sent by posts into all the king's provinces, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even upon the thirteenth *day* of the twelfth month, which is the month Adar, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. A copy of the writing, that the decree should be given out in every province, was published unto all the peoples, that they should be ready against that day. The posts went forth in haste by the king's commandment, and the decree was given out in Shushan the palace: and the king and Haman sat down to drink; but the city of Shushan was perplexed.

Esther, Chap. iii. 12–15.

* * * * * * *

Then the king Ahasuerus said unto Esther the queen and to Mordecai the Jew, Behold, I have given Esther the house of Haman, and him they have hanged upon the gallows, because he laid his hand upon the Jews. Write ye also to the Jews, as it pleaseth you, in the king's name, and seal it with the king's ring: for the writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring,

may no man reverse. Then were the king's scribes called at that time, in the third month, which is the month Sivan, on the three and twentieth *day* thereof ; and it was written according to all that Mordecai commanded unto the Jews, and to the satraps, and the governors and princes of the provinces which are from India unto Ethiopia, a hundred twenty and seven provinces, unto every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language. And he wrote in the name of king Ahasuerus, and sealed it with the king's ring, and sent letters by posts on horseback, riding on swift steeds that were used in the king's service, bred of the stud : wherein the king granted the Jews that were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all the power of the people and province that would assault them, *their* little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey, upon one day in all the provinces of king Ahasuerus, *namely*, upon the thirteenth *day* of the twelfth month, which is the month Adar. A copy of the writing, that the decree should be given out in every province, was published unto all the peoples, and that the Jews should be ready against that day to avenge themselves on their enemies. So the posts that rode upon swift steeds that were used in the king's service went out, being hastened and pressed on by the king's commandment ; and the decree was given out in Shushan the palace.

Esther, Chap. viii. 7–14.

Rumour in the Ukraine [1]

Over the whole Ukraine and beyond the Dnieper strange sounds began to spread like the heralds of a coming tempest ; certain wonderful tidings flew from village to village, from farmhouse to farmhouse, — like those plants which the breezes of spring push along the steppes, and

[1] This extract is taken from a work of fiction, but many a novel is truer to sociological realities than half of the histories, and in no work of history ever written can there be found so true an account of the phenomenon of rumour as is this wonderful bit of description from Sienkiewicz.

which the people call field-rollers. In the towns there were whispers of some great war, though no man knew who was going to make war, nor against whom. Still the tidings were told. The faces of people became unquiet. The tiller of the soil went with his plough to the field unwillingly, though the spring had come early, mild and warm, and long since the larks had been singing over the steppes. Every evening people gathered in crowds in the villages, and standing on the road, talked in undertones of terrible things. Blind men wandering around with lyres and songs were asked for news. Some persons thought they saw in the night-time reflections in the sky, and that a moon redder than usual rose from behind the pine woods. Disaster or the death of the King was predicted. And all this was the more wonderful, since fear found no easy approach to those lands, long accustomed to disturbances, conflicts, and raids. Some exceptionally ominous currents must have been playing in the air, since the alarm had become universal.

It was the more oppressive and stifling, because no one was able to point out the danger. But among the signs of evil omen, two especially seemed to show that really something was impending. First, an unheard-of multitude of old minstrels appeared in all the villages and towns, and among them were forms strange, and known to no one; these, it was whispered, were counterfeit minstrels. These men, strolling about everywhere, told with an air of mystery that the day of God's judgment and anger was near. Secondly, the men of the lower country began to drink with all their might.

The second sign was the more serious. The Saitch, confined within too narrow limits, was unable to feed all its inhabitants; expeditions were not always successful; besides, the steppes yielded no bread to the Cossacks. In time of peace; therefore, a multitude of Zaporojians scattered themselves yearly over the inhabited districts. The Ukraine, and indeed all Russia, was full of them. Some rose to be land stewards; some sold liquor on the highways; some labored in hamlets and towns, in trade and industry. In every village there was sure to be a cottage on one side, at a distance from the rest, in which a

Zaporojian dwelt. Some of them had brought their wives with them, and kept house in these cottages. But the Zaporojian, as a man who usually had passed through every experience, was generally a benefactor to the village in which he lived. There were no better blacksmiths, wheelwrights, tanners, wax-refiners, fishermen, and hunters than they. The Cossack understood everything, did everything; he built a house, he sewed a saddle. But the Cossacks were not always such quiet inhabitants, for they lived a temporary life. Whoever wished to carry out a decision with armed hand, to make an attack on a neighbor, or to defend himself from an expected attack, had only to raise the cry, and straightway the Cossacks hurried to him like ravens to a ready spoil. The nobility and magnates, involved in endless disputes among themselves, employed the Cossacks. When there was a lack of such undertakings the Cossacks stayed quietly in the villages, working with all diligence, earning their daily bread in the sweat of their brows.

They would continue in this fashion for a year or two, till sudden tidings came of some great expedition, either of ataman against the Tartars or the Poles, or of Polish noblemen against Wallachia; and that moment the wheelwrights, blacksmiths, tanners, and wax-refiners would desert their peaceful occupations, and begin to drink with all their might in every dram-shop of the Ukraine. After they had drunk away everything, they would drink on credit, — not on what they had, but on what they would have. Future booty must pay for the frolic.

This phenomenon was repeated so regularly that after a while people of experience in the Ukraine used to say: "The dram-shops are bursting with men from below; something is on foot in the Ukraine."

The starostas strengthened the garrisons in the castles at once, looking carefully to everything; the magnates increased their retinues; the nobility sent their wives and children to the towns.

That spring the Cossacks began to drink as never before, squandering at random all they had earned, not in one district, not in one province, but throughout all Russia, — the length and breadth of it.

Something was on foot, indeed, though the men from below had no idea of what it was. People had begun to speak of Hmelnitski, of his flight to the Saitch, of the men from Cherkasi, Boguslav, Korsún, and other places who had followed him; but something else was talked of too. For years reports had been current of a great war with the Pagans, — a war desired by the King to give booty to the Cossacks, but opposed by the Poles. This time all reports were blended, and roused in the brains of men uneasiness and the expectation of something uncommon.

This uneasiness penetrated the walls of Lubin also. It was not proper to shut one's eyes to such signs, and Prince Yeremi especially had not that habit. In his domain the disturbance did not really come to an outbreak, fear kept all within bounds; but for some time reports had been coming from the Ukraine, that here and there peasants were beginning to resist the nobles, that they were killing Jews, that they wished to force their own enrolment for war against the Pagans, and that the number of deserters to the Saitch was increasing continually.

HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ, *With Fire and Sword*, translated by JEREMIAH CURTIN, 81–83.

The English Stage Coach

There were six regular stage coaches running in England in 1662, some say in 1672. There was a four day stage to York from London in 1678.

The "Salisbury Journal" advertised, in 1752, that for the better conveyance of travellers, the *Exeter Fast Coach* starts every Monday from the Saracen's Head, Skinner Street, Snow Hill, London.

Monday, dines at Egham.
" lies at Murrell's Green.
Tuesday, dines at Sutton.
" lies at Plume of Feathers in Salisbury.
Wednesday, dines at Blandford.
" lies at King's Arms in Dorchester.
Thursday, at one o'clock, Exeter.

This was accomplished in summer.
In winter, six days were required. Fifty miles a day in

summer, and thirty in winter, was the distance. The dangers of the road were too great for any one to risk himself on the outside. There were six inside places.

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The fears for the safety of a relative who had taken a journey to the distant metropolis were by no means ill founded. The dangers of the road, both in going and returning, were acknowledged. The travelling over, safety was still out of the case. A great city, upon whose history a whole nation looks with interest, was in the eighteenth century a residence dangerous to the Londoners themselves. Was there not a brutal society, that of the Mohawks, rakes and drunkards who were banded together for violence upon unprotected persons at night? They sallied out to exercise the duties their mad order entailed upon them, and so knocked down, stabbed, cut and carbonadoed people — honest people about upon their calling — who were so unfortunate as to happen to come in their way.

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The Taunton stage took four days to reach London. Many finding this convenience prepared for them ceased to keep horses, which set going the croakers, who prophesied great evils from the setting up of stage coaches. They said no good hackneys would be bred, and that the agricultural interest would suffer.

When the passengers arrived at night at an inn they clubbed together for a dish or two of meat, and spent not above 12*d.* or 16*d.* at a place.

Acquaintances were made and antipathies created for life between people who sat together for six live-long days in succession, and who took many meals in company. Journeys were unequal in expense. Some gallant, generous fellow-travellers treated the ladies, which some could well afford to do; others, less rich, found this a burden. Occasionally male travellers were too prompt in proposing such liberality when their own relatives were those to be treated. In a word, a journey to London from Devon and Dorset was a memorable event never to be effaced from memory, — a serious undertaking, not to be too hastily

compared with a journey to London or to Edinburgh in the present day, which may be looked upon as a mere act of locomotion, however splendidly performed.

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Persons upon their safe return from London were apt to assume ridiculous airs and superiority over their fellows who had not drunk in political chit-chat like themselves in the city coffee-houses. Inns by the road side were amusing places of resort, for the residents of country towns, and even the clergyman of the parish. The travellers who arrived dispensed the latest news to a craving company, who had no other means of learning what then agitated the great Babel, and other parts of the kingdom.

G. ROBERTS, *Social History of the Southern Counties of England*, 491–492, 495–498, 501.

Suggestion and Suggestibility. — Suggestion is a mode of stimulation, — an incitement of a nervous system to act in a certain way. We often use the word for a process that we are aware of at the moment, as when, while conversing or reading, we receive an idea that strikes us as worth considering, and perhaps acting upon. In stricter technical usage, a suggestion is an incitement to act that is implanted or aroused, while the individual affected remains unaware of what is happening. This usage is here followed. Communication awakens feelings and ideas that, unless restrained by counter influences, pass automatically into action. In "crazes" and panics, suggestion in this sense, of incitement unconsciously received and acted upon, plays a controlling part.

Suggestion: The Pillar of Cloud

And it came to pass, when Moses went out into the tabernacle, that all the people rose up, and stood every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the tabernacle.

And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the Lord talked with Moses.

And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man in his tent door.

Exodus, Chap. xxxiii. 8–10.

Suggestibility during the Great Plague

The apprehensions of the people, were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times, in which, I think, the people, from what principle I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies, and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales, than ever they were before or since: whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it; that is to say, by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not; but certain it is, books frighted them terribly; such as *Lily's Almanack*, *Gadbury's Astrological Predictions*, *Poor Robin's Almanack*, and the like; also several pretended religious books, one entitled, *Come out of her, my people, least ye be partaker of her Plague;* another, called *Fair Warning;* another, *Britain's Remembrancer*, and many such; all, or most part of which, foretold directly or covertly, the ruin of the city: nay, some were so enthusiastically bold, as to run about the streets, with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city; and one in particular, who like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets, "Yet forty days, and LONDON shall be destroyed." I will not be positive, whether he said yet forty days, or yet a few days. Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, Woe to Jerusalem! a little before the destruction of that city: So this poor naked creature cried, O! the great, and the dreadful God! and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least, that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and

would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, or any one else; but kept on his dismal cries continually.

These things terrified the people to the last degree; and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the hills, dead of the plague at St. Giles's.

Next to these public things, were the dreams of old women: or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits; some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London, so that the living would not be able to bury the dead: others saw apparitions in the air, and I must be allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never appeared; but the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed; and no wonder if they who were poring continually at the clouds, saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here they told us they saw a flaming sword held in a hand, coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city. There they saw hearses and coffins in the air carrying to be buried. And there again, heaps of dead bodies lying unburied, and the like; just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

> So hypocondriac fancies represent
> Ships, armies, battles, in the firmament;
> Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
> And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve.

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people give every day of what they have seen; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them, without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one hand, and prophane and impenetrable on the other. One time before the plague was begun, otherwise than as I have said in St. Giles's, I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I

joined with them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it or brandishing it over his head. She described every part of the figure to the life, shewed them the motion and the form, and the poor people came into it so eagerly and with so much readiness: *Yes!* I see it all plainly, says one, there's the sword as plain as can be; another saw the angel; one saw his very face and cried out, What a glorious creature he was! One saw one thing and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but, perhaps, not with so much willingness to be imposed upon; and I said indeed, that I could see nothing, but a white cloud, bright on one side, by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to shew it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had, I must have lied: But the woman turning to me looked me in the face and fancied I laughed, in which her imagination deceived her too, for I really did not laugh, but was seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. — However, she turned to me, called me prophane fellow, and a scoffer, told me that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgements were approaching, and that despisers, such as I, should wonder and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she, and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them, and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them. So I left them, and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

DANIEL DE FOE, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 25–28.

Suggestion in the Witchcraft Delusion

Witchcraft was so deep-rooted that it was accounted next to blasphemy to question its existence. Trials, revolting and harrowing in all their details, were constantly held of persons suspected of practicing witchcraft. The witch, according to the English popular conception of one

in the seventeenth century, was a malicious, spiteful old woman, who had sold her chance of salvation in the life of the world to come, for the joy of blighting her neighbours' crops, destroying their cattle, and revelling in the hours of darkness in their cellars and larders. Tales of her enormities were passed from mouth to mouth, and gained rather than lost by constant repetition. Her familiar spirits, it was said, were a cat, a toad, and, in certain cases of peculiar atrocity, a blue-bottle fly. She assumed any form she liked. She was transported whithersoever she desired. The demon to whose service she had dedicated her powers was a deformed satyr, who combined the lowest animal passions of humanity, with the stupidity, the ferocity, and almost the outward resemblance of a wild beast. In 1604, the very year after his accession to the throne of this realm, James I. set his hand to an act of parliament for the detection and punishment of sorcerers. From that time the persecution of witches became of common occurrence in England. If the statistics do not lie, not fewer than forty thousand persons were put to death for witchcraft in England alone. The madness reached its height in 1634, the year in which occurred the memorable case of the Lancashire witches, the result of which was that eight persons utterly guiltless of the offences that were laid to their charge, were sentenced to death on the incoherent lies of a youth. The great Civil War, instead of checking the progress of this odious persecution, greatly increased it. Magic and witchcraft constituted in the eyes of the Puritans, two of the most abominable offences of which mortal man could be guilty, and to the end that the practice of such arts might be exterminated, the utmost rigour and severity were employed. During the years 1644 and 1645, an infamous wretch, named Matthew Hopkins, succeeded in earning a most comfortable subsistence in the successful exercise of the detestable profession of a witch-finder. The eastern counties had rest only when the impostor got his deserts. The people of Suffolk, who had long been tormented by his presence, insisted upon trying him by his own favorite test of the water ordeal. The experiment proved unfavourable to him, and he was unhesitatingly put to death by the rabble on the spot. During the Com-

monwealth there was an interval of repose. No doubt so beneficial a change is to be ascribed to the sound sense and humanity of Oliver Cromwell, who, though guilty of a few acts of ruthless severity, displayed in most cases a respect for human life which was singularly absent in some of the gloomy republicans who were his contemporaries. This improvement, it is satisfactory to note, continued after the Restoration of Monarchy. The persecution of persons suspected of witchcraft, like long sermons, whining prayers, and canting hymns, was associated with the house of bondage, from which the nation had then only recently been liberated, and consequently was viewed with marked disapproval. Witch trials, it is undoubtedly true, continued at intervals to be held here and there throughout the country, but in most cases the judges were strict in requiring undeniable evidence, and consequently convictions were of comparative rarity. It cannot, however, be forgotten that, in 1664, the excellent Sir Matthew Hale, after a trial conducted with his customary patience and impartiality, though by no means with his customary sagacity, condemned two unfortunate women to death as witches at the assizes at Bury St. Edmunds, and in both cases the law was suffered to take its usual course. Pious judges had a perfect horror of condemning witches, but popular clamour demanded it, and they were forced to comply. The judge who dared to pronounce against the popular opinion, that the devil himself had power to torment and kill innocent children, or that he was pleased to divert himself with the farmers' cheese, butter, pigs, and geese, or who dared to contest other similar errors of a foolish and ignorant rabble, was instantly denounced as a blasphemous atheist. The result was, that in order to mark their regard for religion, the judges were forced to hang the poor witches. Roger North, in his *Life of Lord Guilford*, relates that it was once the unpleasant duty of Judge Raymond, when on circuit, to try two old women at Exeter for witchcraft. The whole city rang with tales of their preternatural exploits. Even the horses which drew the judges' carriage, it was said, could not proceed a step by reason of the spells which the witches had cast upon them. The two old women confessed under the wildest self-delu-

sion that they were witches, and that they had had dealings with the devil. One of them, named Temperance Lloyd, on being asked whether she had ever seen the devil and of what shape and colour he was, answered, "Black, like a bullock!" In her examination before the magistrates she had given a different account, and had affirmed that he had appeared to her "in the shape or likeness of a black man of about the length of her arm; that his eyes were very big, and that he hopped or leaped in the way before her." The file of information which had been taken by the justices was a farrago of nonsense from end to end. "This informant," ran one clause, "saith he saw a cat leap in at her (the old woman's) window when it was twilight; and this informant further saith, that he verily believeth the said cat to be the devil, and more saith not." The case was submitted to the consideration of a jury, who convicted both the old women, and one of them was hanged. In March 1687, a poor old woman was condemned to death as a witch at the assizes at York. "Some that were more apt to believe those things than I," wrote Sir John Reresby, "thought the evidence strong against her. The boy who said he was bewitched, falling into fits before the bench when he saw her, and then, on a sudden coming to himself, and relating very distinctly the several injuries she had done him. But in all this it was observed the boy had no distortion, no foaming at the mouth, nor did his fits leave him gradually, but all of a sudden, so that the judge thought fit to reprieve her. However, it is just to relate this odd story. One of my soldiers being upon guard at eleven o'clock at night at Clifford Tower Gate, the night the witch was arraigned, hearing a great noise at the castle, and coming to the porch, there saw a scroll of paper creep from under the door, which, as he imagined by moonshine, turned first into the shape of a monkey, then of a turkey-cock, which moved to and fro by him. Whereupon he went to the gaol and called the under-gaoler, who came and saw the scroll dance up and down and creep under the floor, where there was scarce the room of the thickness of half-a-crown. This I had from the mouth both of the soldier and gaoler." Abraham de la Pryme says that, in February 1692, he visited a man who de-

clared that he had lost a number of cattle by witchcraft. "He told me," says he, "that he was once, about thirteen years ago, with several others, set to keep a witch in a room, and sayd that before them all she chang'd herself into a beetle or great duck, and flew out of the chimney and so escaped. He told me also that a neighbour of his, as he was once driving a loaded waggon out of the field, they came over against the place where a witch was sheaving and that then of a suddorn (tho' there was no illway or anything to throwgh a waggon over), the waggon was in a minnit thrown down, and the sheaves became as so many piggs of lead, so that nobody could for two hours lift them upright."

W. C. Sydney, *Social Life in England* (1660–1669), 188–193.

Near the close of February, 1692, two girls, about eleven years of age; (a daughter and a niece of Mr. Paris, Minister of Danvers, then Salem-village;) and two other girls in the neighbourhood, began, as the children of Mr. Goodwin had done before, to act in a peculiar and unaccountable manner; creeping for example into holes, and under chairs, using many unnatural gestures, and uttering many ridiculous observations, equally destitute of sense and sobriety. This behaviour excited the attention of the neighbourhood. Several Physicians were consulted; all of whom, except one, declared themselves unable to assign a cause for these singular affections of the children. This man, more ignorant or more superstitious, than his companions, confessed his suspicion, that the children were bewitched. The declaration appears to have been decisive. The connections of the children immediately applied themselves to fasting, and prayer; and summoned their friends to unite in their devotions. On the 11th of the following March, Mr. Paris invited several of the neighbouring Ministers to unite with him in prayer at his own house. It was observed, that during the religious exercises the children were generally decent, and still; and that after the service was ended they renewed their former inexplicable conduct.

A few days before this, an Indian man and woman,

servants in the house of Mr. Paris, formed a kind of magical cake; which, like the *mola* among the Romans, was esteemed sacred in Mexico; the native country of the woman; and was supposed by these ignorant creatures, to possess an efficacy, sufficient to detect the authors of the witchcraft. This cake was given to the house-dog, as having the common canine prerogative of corresponding with the invisible world. Soon after the spell was finished, the children, acquainted, probably, with its drift, and therefore naturally considering this as the proper time to make disclosures, began to point out the authors of their misfortunes. The first person accused was the Indian woman herself; who was accordingly committed to prison; and, after lying there some time, escaped without any further punishment, except being sold to defray the expense of her prosecution.

Two other women, of the names of Good, and Osborn; one, long sunk in melancholy, the other bedrid, were next accused by the children; and, after being examined, were also committed to prison. Within five weeks a Mrs. Corey, and a Mrs. Nurse, women of unblemished character, and professors of Religion, were added to the number of the accused. Before the examination of Mrs. Corey, Mr. Noyes, Minister of Salem, highly esteemed for his learning, piety, and benevolence, made a prayer. She was then vehemently accused by Mrs. Putnam, the mother of one of them, and by several other persons, who now declared themselves bewitched, of beating, pinching, strangling, and in various other ways afflicting, them.

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Soon after her commitment, a child of Sarah Good, the melancholy woman mentioned above, a child between four and five years old, was accused by the same women of bewitching them; and, accordingly, was imprisoned.

In the mean time, fasts were multiplied. Several public ones were kept by the inhabitants of the village; and, finally, a general fast was holden throughout the Colony. By these successive solemnities the subject acquired a consideration literally sacred; and alarmed, and engrossed, the minds of the whole community. Magistrates, and Clergymen, gave to it the weight of their belief, and their reputa-

tion ; led their fellow-citizens into a labyrinth of error, and iniquity ; and stained the character of their Country, in the eye of all succeeding generations.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. I. 453–455.

Impression. — Impression is the mental as distinguished from the muscular power that one person has over another. Physically weak men, by sheer mental force, often awe and control men who are physically strong.

Power of Napoleon's Personality

Napoleon, during the two years of his campaigns in Italy, had filled all Europe with the renown of his arms, which gave the first stunning blow to the Coalition.

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On Napoleon's arrival in Paris, the leaders of the different parties were eager to call upon him, and to make him different offers, to which he paid little seeming attention. The streets and squares through which he was expected to pass were constantly crowded with people, curious to see the gainer of so many battles, who but seldom showed himself. The Institute having chosen him one of its members, he adopted its costume. He had no regular visitors, except a few men of science, such as Monge, Berthollet, Borda, Laplace, Prony, and Lagrange ; Generals Berthier, Desaix, Lefebvre, Caffarelli Dufalga, Kleber, and a very few deputies. He had a public audience given him by the Directory, who had scaffoldings erected in the Place des Luxembourg for the ceremony, the ostensible reason for which was the delivery of the treaty of Campo-Formio.

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People thronged to the sittings of the Institute for the purpose of seeing Napoleon, who usually took his place there between Laplace and Lagrange, the latter of whom was sincerely attached to him. He never attended the theatre except in a private box ; and declined a proposal from the

managers of the Opera, who wished to give a grand representation in honor of him. When he afterwards appeared in public on his return from Egypt, his person was still unknown to the inhabitants of Paris, who flocked eagerly to see him.

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The Directory kept up an appearance of the greatest cordiality. When they thought proper to consult him, they used to send one of the ministers to request him to assist at the Council, where he took his seat between two of them, and delivered his opinion on the matters in question. At the same time, the troops as they returned to France extolled him to the skies in their songs and in their talk; declaring that it was time to turn the lawyers out, and make him king.

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Napoleon himself was so perfectly convinced of the state of affairs and of popular sentiment, that he knew his success in no way depended on the force he might bring with him. A piquet of gen-d'armes, he said, was all that was necessary. Every thing turned out as he foresaw. At first he owned he was not without some degree of uncertainty and apprehension. As he advanced, it is true, the whole population declared themselves enthusiastically in his favor; but he saw no soldiers; they were all carefully removed from the places through which he passed. It was not till he arrived between Mure and Vizille, within five or six leagues from Grenoble, and on the fifth day after his landing, that he met the first battalion. The commanding officer refused to hold even a parley. The Emperor without hesitation advanced alone; and one hundred grenadiers marched at some distance behind him with their arms reversed. The sight of Napoleon, his well-known costume, and his grey military great-coat had a magical effect on the soldiers, and they stood motionless. Napoleon went straight up to them, and baring his breast, said, "Let him that has the heart now kill his Emperor!" The soldiers threw down their arms; their eyes moistened with tears; and cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* resounded on every side. Napoleon ordered the battalion to wheel round to

the right, and all marched on to Paris. At a short distance from Grenoble, Colonel Labedoyere, who had been sent at the head of the 7th regiment to oppose his passage, came to join the Emperor. The impulse thus given in a manner decided the question. Labedoyere's superior officer in vain interfered to restrain his enthusiasm and that of his men. The tri-colored cockades which had been concealed in the hollow of a drum were eagerly distributed among them; and they threw away the badge of their own and the nation's dishonor. The peasantry of Dauphiny, the cradle of the Revolution, lined the roadside: they were transported and mad with joy. The first battalion, which has just been alluded to, had shown some signs of hesitation; but thousands of the country-people crowded round it, and by their shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* endeavored to urge the troops to decision; while others who followed in Napoleon's rear encouraged his little troop to advance, by assuring them that they would meet with success.

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It was night-fall when Napoleon arrived before the walls of Grenoble. He found the gates closed, and the commanding officer refused to open them. The garrison assembled on the ramparts shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* and shook hands with Napoleon's followers through the wickets; but they could be prevailed on to do nothing more. It was necessary to force the gates; and this was done under the mouths of ten pieces of artillery, loaded with grape-shot. In none of his battles did Napoleon ever imagine himself to be in so much danger as at the entrance into Grenoble. The soldiers seemed to turn upon him with furious gestures: for a moment it might be supposed that they were going to tear him to pieces. But these were the suppressed transports of love and joy. The Emperor and his horse were both borne along by the multitude; and he had scarcely had time to breathe in the inn where he alighted, when an increased tumult was heard without; the inhabitants of Grenoble came to offer him the gates of the city, since they could not present him with the keys.

HAZLITT, *Life of Napoleon*, Vol. I. 390, 392, and Vol. III. 279, 284.

Example and Imitation. — Muscular movements, through countless experiences, have become correlated with sensations of sight, sound, and touch, and these sensations, in turn, have become stimuli of the correlated movements. Therefore, when we see or hear another person act in any given way, we are more or less unconsciously prompted to act in like manner. Consequently, among individuals sufficiently near one another to be aware of one another's attitudes and conduct, every act is an example normally followed by imitation.

In his work on *The Laws of Imitation* Tarde contends that imitation usually spreads from above downwards, *i.e.* from higher to lower social classes and from the inner to the outer man; that imitation takes two predominant social forms, namely, custom imitation, or the copying of the old, the traditional, the venerable, and mode imitation, or the copying of new fashions; that in the absence of interference imitation tends to spread in a geometrical progression; and that all imitations are refracted by their media, *i.e.* imitation is never perfect, the example is never exactly copied.

Imitation of Social Superiors in England

During the prosperous reign of George the First, and that of his successor, tranquillity at home, together with the most amazing increase of national opulence, were the causes that insensibly relaxed the minds of men. Being suffered to take their course by those who ought to have checked the evils, which an abuse of them will necessarily effect, these evils soon gained ground. They, indeed, in whose power, and therefore whose duty it was to have resisted, first and principally encouraged and patronized them. They advanced by gradual steps, and in no long space of time overflowed the whole community.

The consequences resulting from this introduction of a taste for expensive refinements, together with an unbounded rage for pleasures, were soon too visibly apparent. A corruption of morals ensued, that communicated itself from the great, down to the lowest classes of the vulgar, with the most pernicious rapidity. It may be affirmed with the fullest confidence, that, in the space of little more than thirty years, the whole mass of the people of England was infected to such a degree, that they might be said to have changed, in some very material respects, the character and the temper of Englishmen.

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If we turn our attention back to the reign of the licentious Charles the Second, notwithstanding his personal profligacy, notwithstanding the profligacy of them whom he chose for the companions and partners of his debaucheries, we shall find that his example, happily, had not that influence which it so seldom fails to have in the persons of kings. The number of courtiers who imitated him was not considerable, when we reflect on the temptations they lay under; and the majority of his subjects blamed him openly for his conduct.

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In spite of the jovialness of Charles and his courtiers, the nation could never be brought to relish his ways; and though his affability rendered his person tolerably beloved and popular, yet the maxims of his Government were never acceptable, and his morals always odious to the public at large.

In the meanwhile, the diversions and amusements he had imported, did not much diffuse themselves, and were chiefly confined to his palace: the stage only, which had been shut ever since the commencement of the civil wars, revived at his return. The bulk of the people expressed very little fondness for any of the new-invented kinds of recreation.

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True it is, that many of those who stood up for the maxims entertained at court, being mere soldiers of fortune,

did not give themselves much solicitude about the regularity of their lives and manners; and, provided they had full licence to pass their days in mirth and revelry, or rather, to speak more properly, in debauchery and viciousness, they cared very little what kind of government subsisted. Individuals of this disposition and character were not wanting. Of such consist, at all times and in all countries, the major part of those who profess an unlimited obedience and devotion to courts. But the main body of the people was by no means either tinctured with so deplorable an infatuation, or plunged in those vices that flourished under the connivance and countenance of the court.

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It was indeed through the repeated efforts of venal and immoral writers, together with the concurring assistance of the libertinism of several among the great, that, towards the latter end of Charles's reign, an alarming change was wrought in the manners of the English nation.

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One of the main causes of the introduction of this restless passion for luxurious entertainments is the too frequent visits we pay to those parts where they chiefly flourish. A large proportion of our countrymen abroad, consists of such as are wholly unfit for the purposes of travelling: though they might be of some service by spending their fortunes at home, they can do nothing abroad but give foreigners a mean opinion of the English nation. Yet such are the regulators of our fashions and pastimes. Having, in the course of their rambles, employed their attention chiefly on such objects, they set up at their return, for dictators in what persons of sense and capacity think it unworthy of them to take the lead.

But what is more prejudicial to the public, many of these superficial people, unable to view with judgement and penetration the occurrences they meet with abroad, are apt to be charmed with that exterior pomp of things which prevails in so many countries. Without considering whether there is any reality under the vast appearances their eyes are feasted with, they readily imagine the contempt, with which the generality of our countrymen have

hitherto treated these affectations of magnificence, proceeds from ignorance and ill taste; and that with all our pretensions, we are neither a wiser nor a happier people than those we so freely take upon us to undervalue.

JOHN ANDREWS, *An Inquiry into the Manners, Taste and Amusements of the Two Last Centuries in England*, 4–6, 17–18, 22–25, 30, 124–126.

Dante on the Refraction and the Geometrical Progression of Imitation

The reason wherefore this happens (not only to me but to all), it now pleases me here briefly to touch upon. And firstly, it is because rumour goes beyond the truth; and then, what is beyond the truth restricts and strangles it. Good report is the first-born of kindly thought in the mind of the friend; which the mind of the foe, although it may receive the seed, conceives not.

That mind which gives birth to it in the first place, so to make its gift more fair, as by the charity of friendship, keeps not within bounds of truth, but passes beyond them. When one does that to adorn a tale, he speaks against his conscience; when it is charity that causes him to pass the bounds, he speaks not against conscience.

The second mind which receives this, not only is content with the exaggeration of the first mind, but its own report adds its own effect of endeavours to embellish, and so by their action, and by the deception which it also receives from the goodwill generated in it, good report is made more ample than it should be; either with the consent or the dissent of the conscience; even as it was with the first mind. And the third receiving mind does this; and the fourth; and thus the exaggeration of good ever grows. And so, by turning the aforesaid motives in the contrary direction, one can perceive why ill-fame in like manner is made to grow. Wherefore Virgil says in the fourth of the *Æneid:* "Let Fame live to be fickle, and grow as she goes." Clearly, then, he who is willing may perceive that the image generated by Fame alone is always larger, whatever it may be, than the thing imaged is, in its true state.

DANTE, *Il Convito* (*The Banquet*), translated by E. P. SAYER, 17–18.

Conflict. — In some degree all the relations of individuals to one another are a conflict, since, as we have seen, all modes of activity are in one aspect a conflict. All thought and feeling involve conflict, of sensations, of ideas, and among groups of ideas. Even the pleasant friendship of companions has its coefficient of conflict; and it must be remembered that not all conflicts are painful, or even unpleasant. The discussion of different opinions, the attempt to reconcile different plans, the struggle between two opposing wills, all these are modes of conflict, but they yield much of the pleasure, as well as much of the unhappiness of life. Thus all stimulation by fellow-beings, and the response thereto, is conflict in this broad sense of the word.

But interstimulation and response may be conflict in a more specific sense. The action of one individual may provoke the fierce antagonism of another, and this struggle may be one that admits of no mitigation short of the complete subjugation, or perhaps death of the weaker. A large part of the activities within all population aggregates consists of conflicts that are waged with the intent to destroy or to subordinate. From competition in business to organized warfare, these conflicts are of every gradation of intensity and destructiveness. Normally they proceed until the strong have subordinated the weak, or until, through the united resistance of the weak, the predatory strong have been eliminated, and further trials of strength have proven that none can now hope to overcome another, and the severer conflict ends in the establishment of an equilibrium of toleration.

Gallic Resistance of Rome

But of all the malcontents the most daring and the most dangerous was Indutiomarus. Rebuffed by the German chiefs, who answered his appeals for aid by reminding him of the fate of Ariovistus and the Tencteri, he offered rewards to all the outlaws and exiles in Gaul who would join his standard. His prestige rapidly increased; and all the patriots began to look to him for guidance. He summoned the warriors of his own tribe to muster in arms at a stated place; and, in accordance with Gallic custom, the unhappy wretch who arrived last was tortured to death in sight of his comrades. Indutiomarus began by declaring Cingetorix a public enemy, and confiscating his possessions. He then addressed the assembly. His plan was to make a raid into the country of the Remi, and punish them for their desertion of the national cause: then to join the Carnutes and the Senones, and raise a revolt in the heart of Gaul.

T. Rice Holmes, *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul*, 92.

Catholic-Protestant Strife

Small as was the measure of toleration accorded to the Protestants by the Edict of January, it was too large for the zealots of the opposite party. Throughout the winter attacks upon Huguenot congregations had been taking place all over the country; but the chief impression was made by an incident which occurred on Sunday, March 1, 1562. The Duke of Guise, who was staying at his house of Joinville (in the modern Department of the Haute-Marne), went that day to dine at the little town of Vassy, attended after the fashion of the times by a large band of armed retainers. At Vassy they found a Huguenot service going on, and some of the Duke's followers attempting to push their way into the barn where it was being held were met with shouts of "Papists! idolaters!" Stones began to fly; and the Duke was himself struck. His enraged attendants fired upon the crowd, with the result that out of six or seven hundred worshippers sixty were killed and many wounded.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III. 1.

Protestant Internal Dissension

We, the burgomaster, the Council and the Great Council, which they call the two hundred of the City of Zurich, announce to each and every priest, preacher, minister and clergyman who has a living and residence in our cities, counties, principalities, high and low courts and territories, our greeting, favourable and affectionate will, and would have you know that now for considerable time much dissension and trouble have arisen between those who preach from the pulpit the word of God to the common people, some believing that they have preached the Gospel faithfully and wholly, whereas others blame them as though they had not acted skilfully or properly. On the other hand the others call them sources of evil, deceivers and sometimes heretics; but to each one desiring it these offer to give account and reckoning about this everywhere with the aid of God's Scriptures to the best of their ability for the sake of the honor of God, peace and Christian unity. So this is our command, will and desire, that you preachers, priests, clergymen, all together and each one separately, if any especial priests desire to speak about this, having livings in our city of Zurich or outside in our territories, or if any desire to blame the opposing party or to instruct them otherwise, shall appear on the day after Emperor Charles' Day, the 29th day of the month of January, at the early time of the Council, in our city of Zurich, before us in our town hall, and shall announce in German, by the help of true divine Scripture, the matters which you oppose. When we, with the careful assistance of certain scholars, have paid careful attention to the matters, as seems best to us, and after investigations are made with the help of the Holy Scriptures and the truth, we will send each one home with a command either to continue or to desist. After this no one shall continue to preach from the pulpit whatever seems good to him without foundation in the divine Scriptures. We shall also report such matters to our gracious Lord of Constance, so that His Grace or His representative, if He so desire, may also be present. But if any one in the future opposes this, and does not base his opposition upon the true Holy Scriptures, with him we shall proceed

further according to our knowledge in a way from which we would gladly be relieved. We also sincerely hope that God Almighty will give gracious light to those who earnestly seek the light of truth, and that we may in the future walk in that light as sons of the light.

Given and preserved under the imprinted seal of the city on Saturday after the Circumcision of Christ and after his birth in the twenty-third year of the lesser reckoning. [January 3, 1522.]

Now when all of the priests, ministers and clergymen in the territories of Zurich obediently appeared at the hour and time announced there were in the Great Council room at Zurich more than six hundred assembled, counting the local and foreign representatives, together with the praiseworthy representation from Constance, to which an invitation to the same had been sent from Zurich, and when everybody had found a seat at the early time of the Council the burgomaster of Zurich began to speak as follows:

Very learned, noble, steadfast, honorable, wise, ecclesiastical Lords and Friends: For some time in my Lords' city of Zurich and her territories dissensions and quarrels have arisen on account of certain sermons and teachings delivered to the people from the pulpit by Master Ulrich Zwingli, our preacher here at Zurich, wherefore he has been attacked and blamed as a deceiver by some and by others as a heretic. Wherefore it has come about that not only in our city of Zurich, but also everywhere else in the land in my Lords' territories such dissensions have increased among the clergy, and also the laity, that daily complaints of the same come before my Lords, and the angry words and quarrelling do not seem likely to come to an end. And so Master Ulrich Zwingli has frequently offered to give the causes and reasons for his sermons and doctrines preached here in the public pulpit so often in Zurich in case a public discussion before all the clergy and laity were granted him. At this offer of Master Ulrich the honorable Council at Zurich, desiring to stop the disturbance and dissension, has granted him permission to hold a public discussion in the German language before the Great Council at Zurich, which they call the two

hundred, to which the honorable and wise Council has summoned all of you priests and ministers from her territories. It also requested the worthy Lord and Prince, etc., Bishop of Constance, to send his representative to this meeting, for which favor the honorable Council of Zurich expresses especial thanks to him. Therefore if there is any one here who may feel any displeasure or doubt in Master Ulrich's sermons or doctrines preached here at Zurich in the pulpit, or if any one desires to say anything or knows anything to say in the matter to the effect that such sermons and teachings are not true, but misleading or heretical, he can prove the truth of the same before my Lords, the often mentioned Master Ulrich, and show him at once his error by means of the Scriptures, and he shall be free and safe and with perfect immunity, so that my Lords may in the future be relieved of the daily complaints which arise from such dissension and quarrels. For my Lords have become weary of such complaints, which have been increasing gradually from both clergy and laity.

ZWINGLI, *The First Zurich Disputation*, selected works of HULDREICH ZWINGLI, edited by JACKSON, 43–46.

Bilingual Teaching in Belgian Schools

Two races having widely different characteristics are united under the name Belgian. The Flemings, who are the most numerous, are a race of German extraction, brothers to the Dutch of the neighbouring kingdom of Holland, speaking the Low German language Flemish, which is practically identical with Dutch, and inhabiting the North-Western portion of Belgium, north of a line drawn through Courtraie and Louvain, and a small portion of Flanders now forming part of France. The Walloons, south of this line, are French alike in race and language, and while the sympathies of the Flemings lean to Holland and Germany, those of the Walloons turn rather to France. French and Flemish are thus the languages of Belgium. It is true that a French patois is spoken by many Walloons in the South, but this has no literature, and is merely

a corrupt form of French. German is also spoken by many Belgians near the frontier of Germany — but when Belgium is termed a bilingual country the languages referred to are French and Flemish.

Though the majority of Belgians are Flemings the official language of Belgium was for many years French, and is so to a certain extent at the present time; but the progress of the Flemish movement which has for its object the maintenance of the Flemish tongue in Flanders, and indeed the spread of the language throughout Belgium, has brought about great changes, and tends to make the Belgians more and more a bilingual people. A glance at Belgium's chequered history accounts for the dominant position that French has held. Perhaps no country in Europe has seen such changes of government, such a variety of rulers as Belgium — at any rate during the last three centuries. In the seventeenth century it formed a part of the Spanish dominions, then, after coming under Austrian rule, it formed part of the French Empire till the battle of Waterloo, when it was united with Holland and the two countries constituted the monarchy of Holland and Belgium. This kingdom only lasted till 1830.

Numerous grievances, such as the favouritism shown to Hollanders in all official positions, created great disaffection amongst the Belgians, and this feeling at length culminated in the revolution of 1830, when Belgium was again dissevered from Holland and became under King Leopold an independent kingdom. During these centuries Flemish always remained the language of the great majority of the people, but the language of the government, of administration, of the law courts, of the schools, and generally of the upper classes, was French. During more than two centuries the religious corporations, who possessed the monopoly of education, had proscribed the Flemish (Dutch) language from hatred of the Dutch heretics who published Bibles and books judged dangerous for the Catholic faith, and thus the upper and middle classes, educated in schools in which the language was French, discarded Flemish and learned to despise it. The "masses" retained their native tongue; but their children for the most part received no education; the national schools charged fees they could

not pay, and the teaching was in a language they did not understand. The French revolutionists were no more favourable to Flemish than the Church had been. They strove to substitute French, the language in which the republican laws were written and which they believed had a special virtue as an instrument of emancipation, for Flemish, which they regarded as one of a number of insignificant idioms only fit to express servile sentiments and retrograde ideas. Thus a Report prepared in 1790 says, "The great crime of patois is that they prevent the political amalgam. They keep people away from the truth. The fusion of all classes and of all provinces, in one uniform nation, will be the fruit of the unity of language." The French were, however, unsuccessful in seeking to substitute French for Flemish as the language of the people. In 1830, when Belgium became an independent kingdom, Flemish still maintained its position as the language of the people of Flanders, but it had degenerated from want of culture and become impoverished. The official language of the country was French. But since 1830 a great popular movement in favour of the use of Flemish in Flanders has sprung up and achieved numerous reforms. The motto of this Flemish movement is "In Flanders Flemish," and Flemish has in later years become more and more the language of the Law Courts and of Government officials. No judge or advocate can now be appointed in Flanders unless he has a knowledge of Flemish. "We object," say the Flemings, "to be judged by men whom we pay but do not understand." In the Communes, in the primary and secondary schools, and in the army, Flemish has to some extent taken the place of French. The streets throughout Belgium are named in both languages, and all official documents, including the official *Monitor*, are published in both languages, generally in parallel columns. The Flemish tongue is spoken by greater numbers now than at the beginning of the century; the Flemish papers, such as the *Handelsblad* of Antwerp, have a very large circulation; important works in all branches of literature and science are written in Flemish, and Flemish plays are performed in the theatres. Especially remarkable is the progress of Flemish in the secondary schools of the Wal-

loon district, and the desire shown by the directing classes that their children shall acquire a good knowledge of Flemish in the schools. The prejudice formerly felt against Flemish dies away as its utility in a country which is becoming more and more bilingual manifests itself. The Walloons are taunted to-day with their quickness in learning Flemish when an official position is at stake. It would now be impossible for an official to protest against the teaching of Flemish in the public schools of Brussels lest "the learning of this patois should spoil the French accent of the children;" neither would a Burgomaster of Brussels assert, "there are no Flemings in Brussels." A general conference held each year of those interested in preserving for Flemish Belgium its native language has had great influence in promoting this object; and one striking proof of the conviction held by the Government that this national feeling must be conciliated was the appointment of the great Flemish novelist Conscience as teacher of Flemish to the royal princes.

The struggle between the two languages has naturally produced bitter feeling in Belgium as the language fights always have done in Austria, Cape Colony, etc.; "When the question of language comes up in parliament," said the President, "every one speaks at once, and we can understand nothing."

The Flemings taunt the Walloons with being the party of France seeking to rob a Dutch race of its mother tongue, desiring to bring free Belgium again under the centralizing tyranny of France. The ardent Fleming is accused on the other hand of preferring a mere dialect, with little or no literature and unknown outside narrow limits, to a world language so highly developed, so widely spoken, and with such a magnificent literature as the French. The Walloon stigmatizes the Fleming as a "Flamingant"; the Fleming nicknames the Walloon "Fransquillon." The Flemish party formed a procession to go to Waterloo to celebrate the deliverance of Belgium from French tyranny; the Walloons organized a counter demonstration at Jemappes to show their sympathy with France. So keen is the feeling against the French language among some distinguished Flemings, that the great Flemish poet Hiel, an

ardent Flamingant, is said to have consistently pretended he did not understand French; while in an interview I was fortunate enough to obtain with a very distinguished Flemish poet, M. Pol de Mont, he immediately turned our conversation from French to German, apologizing for his inability to converse in English.

Generally speaking, however, the partisans of each language now acknowledge the claims of the other, and the aim is rather to make educated Belgium bilingual than to give predominance to either language.

T. R. Dawes, *Bilingual Teaching in Belgian Schools*, 7–13.

Association. — The developed form of inter-stimulation and response is association, which may be described as either a frequent personal meeting and conversation, or as a sustained and indefinitely continued communication, carried on by the same individuals.

Personal meeting, conversation, and discussion are the usual forms. Meetings may be informal, as in the association of men who come together in festivals, fairs, and markets, or who frequent a tavern or a club, or they may be formal, as in the meetings of a board of directors or of a body of citizens.

Fairs in Ancient Ireland

Old Garman who came in pursuit of the seven cows of Echad which were carried off by Len the son of Mesroed, etc.

The seven principal cemeteries of Eriu, *ut dixit:* —

These are the seven sepulchral cemeteries:
The cemetery of Tailté to be chosen,
The cemetery of Cruachan of sadness,
And the cemetery of the Brugh,
The cemetery of Carman of heroes,
Oenach Cuile with its appropriations,
The mortuary of the people of Parthalon,
And Teamar of Dun Fintan.

Thus it is they used to hold this fair, by their tribes and families and households, to the tune of Cathair Mor; and Cathair, however, bequeathed not Carman unto any but to his own descendants, and the precedence he bequeathed to the race of Ros Failge, their followers and their exiles, to continue the fair *ut* the seven Laigsechs and the Fotharts; and to them belongs [the right] to celebrate it, and to secure it from every disaster [while] going thither and returning thence. There were seven races there every day, and seven days for celebrating it, and for considering the laws and rights of the province for three years. It was on the last day of it the Ossorians held their fair, and they coursed it every day before closing; and hence it was called the steed contest of the Ossorians. The Forud of their King was on the right hand of the King of Leinster, and the Forud of the King of Ua Failge was on his left hand; and in the same manner their women.

On the Kalends of August they assembled there, and on the sixth of August they left it. Every third year they were wont to hold it; and [it took] two years for the preparations. It was five hundred and eighty years from the holding of the first fair in Carman, to the forty-second year of [the reign of] Octavius Augustus, in which year Christ was born.

Three markets there, viz., a market of food and clothes; a market of live stock, cows, and horses, etc.; a market of foreigners and exiles selling gold and silver, etc. The professors of every art, both the noble arts and the base arts, and non-professionals were there selling and exhibiting their compositions and their professional works to kings; and rewards were given for every [work of] art that was just or lawful to be sold, or exhibited, or listened to.

Corn and milk [were promised] to them for holding it, and that the sway of any invading province should not be over them, but that they should observe the Fridays, and that they should fast, men, women, boys, maidens, as well as exiles, chiefs, champions, and clerics. [They were also promised] prosperity and comfort in every household, and fruits of every kind in abundance, and abundant supplies from their waters, and fertility to the land of Leinster. And, moreover, that decay and failure and early grayness

should come upon their men, kingly heroes, and women; and the forfeiture of his land or its price from him who evades it, men, kingly heroes, and women; [and that failure of] young kings, mean clothes, and baldness would come on them unless they celebrated it, Ut Fulartach cc.

O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Vol. III. 530–531.

Old German Festivals

With no cities to collect and divide labor, the German did considerable part of his own domestic trading at the religious festivals, when scattered members of a clan or confederation of tribes came together to worship a common deity. The fair or *messe* of to-day represents the old combination of cult and trade, though the latter element alone survives.

F. B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, 213.

London Workingmen's Clubs

The one hundred and fifteen clubs in East London and Hackney may be primarily divided into those which can be entered by a stranger and those which cannot. Those which open their doors at all, do so very readily and very completely. They have not only nothing to hide, but are very generally proud of their position. They are, moreover, not infrequently linked by affiliation to the "Working Men's Club and Institute Union," or the "Federation of Working Men's Social Clubs," on terms which provide for the welcome of the members of any one club by any other club in the same association. Thus a very wide natural publicity is given to all their proceedings, and it is not difficult for the social inquirer to obtain trustworthy information about them and even himself to experience their hospitalities.

As to those which decline to open their doors to strangers, I can give no information except as to the reputation they enjoy, which, it must be said, is very bad. They are usually called "Proprietary clubs," and there can be no doubt that betting and various forms of gambling, but

chiefly betting, are their main objects. On my list are thirty-two such clubs within the limits of the district. Some are dramatic and others make dancing a principal attraction, but in all cases their foundation and *raison d'être* is gambling in one form or other. Some of them are respectable, frequented by book makers of good repute. Others are very disreputable indeed, being, it is said, a combination of gambling hell with the lowest type dancing saloon. All alike maintain a jealous privacy. An outer door labelled "members only," an inner door of baize; a window with a sliding shutter, through which, as the visitor enters, appears promptly the face of the doorkeeper; an entire refusal to give any information or admit any strangers; such are their suggestive characteristics. Grave responsibility evidently attaches to their management, and police raids from time to time justify the precautions taken. These clubs seem to be short-lived, but die in one street only to spring up in the next. Shoreditch is the quarter in which most are found. Those in Whitechapel, of the same sort, but belonging to Jews and foreigners, are more permanent and probably more truly social in character. These clubs are of various grades and cater for every class from A to H; but not one of them can be properly called a working men's club. The total number of members will not be very large.

CHARLES BOOTH, *Life and Labours of the People*, Vol. I. 94–95.

Expansive Association. — Besides the intimate association of personal meeting and acquaintance, there is a less intimate but wider association which consists in the acquaintance and intercourse of individuals in one group or social population with individuals in another through travel or through commerce, or consists in relations of friendly intercourse or of conflict between group and group. The important forms of expansive association are travel, commerce, diplomacy, and war.

The Commerce of Tyre

The word of Jehovah came again unto me, saying, And thou, son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyre; and say unto Tyre, O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, that art the merchant of the peoples unto many isles, thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Thou, O Tyre, hast said, I am perfect in beauty. Thy borders are in the heart of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir trees from Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make a mast for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood, from the isles of Kittim. Of fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was thy sail, that it might be to thee for an ensign; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was thine awning. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy rowers: thy wise men, O Tyre, were in thee, they were thy pilots. The old men of Gebal and the wise men thereof were in thee thy calkers: all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to deal in thy merchandise. Persia and Lud and Put were in thine army, thy men of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness. The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadim were in thy towers: they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have perfected thy beauty. Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded for thy wares. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy traffickers: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass for thy merchandise.

They of the house of Togarmah traded for thy wares with horses and war-horses and mules. The men of Dedan were thy traffickers: many isles were the mart of thy hand: they brought thee in exchange horns of ivory and ebony. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of thy handyworks: they traded for thy wares with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and rubies. Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy traffickers: they traded for thy merchandise wheat of Minnith,

and pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm. Damascus was thy merchant for the multitude of thy handyworks, by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with the wine of Helbon, and white wool. Vedan and Javan traded with yarn for thy wares: bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were among thy merchandise. Dedan was thy trafficker in precious cloths for riding. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they were the merchants of thy hand; in lambs, and rams, and goats, in these were they thy merchants. The traffickers of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy traffickers: they traded for thy wares with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haran and Canneh and Eden, the traffickers of Sheba, Asshur *and* Chilmad, were thy traffickers. These were thy traffickers in choice wares, in wrappings of blue and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar, among thy merchandise. The ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise: and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the heart of the seas. Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters: the east wind hath broken thee in the heart of the seas. Thy riches, and thy wares, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy calkers, and the dealers in thy merchandise, and all thy men of war, that are in thee, with all thy company that is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the heart of the seas in the day of thy ruin. At the sound of the cry of thy pilots the suburbs shall shake.

And all that handle the oar, the mariners, *and* all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships, they shall stand upon the land, and shall cause their voice to be heard over thee, and shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in the ashes: and they shall make themselves bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee in bitterness of soul with bitter mourning. And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee, *saying*, Who is there like Tyre, like her that is brought to silence in the midst of the sea? When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many peoples; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise. In the

time that thou wast broken by the seas in the depths of the waters, thy merchandise and all thy company did fall in the midst of thee. All the inhabitants of the isles are astonished at thee, and their kings are horribly afraid, they are troubled in their countenance. The merchants among the peoples hiss at thee; thou art become a terror, and thou shalt never be any more.

Ezekiel, Chap. xxvii.

Relations of Germany to Italy

The old alliance of Germany with Italy had been, notwithstanding the sacrifices it necessitated on the part of each, very advantageous to both nations. The united expeditions across the Alps had strengthened in the German tribes the sense of their national dependence on each other, and constant contact with the Italians, who then led the world's culture, had the most beneficial influence on intellectual progress in Germany. The Italians, on their side, no doubt often felt the imposition of a foreign rule and the pressure of its taxes, but they found themselves thereby protected from the tyranny of the native power, which threatened the privileges of their cities, the most precious of Italian rights.

J. Janssen, *History of the German People*, Vol. II. 193.

Early American Travel

The travelling on these roads in every direction is truly astonishing, even at this inclement season, but in the spring and fall, I am informed that it is beyond all conception.

Apropos of travelling — A European, who had not experienced it, could form no proper idea of the manner of it in this country. The travellers are: wagoners, carrying produce to and bringing back foreign goods from the different shipping ports on the shores of the Atlantick, particularly Philadelphia and Baltimore; — Packers with from one to twenty horses, selling or trucking their wares through the country; — countrymen, sometimes alone, sometimes in large companies, carrying salt from M'Connelstown, and

other points of navigation on the Potomack and Susquehannah, for the curing of their beef, pork, venison, etc.; — Families removing further back into the country, some with cows, oxen, horses, sheep, and hogs, and all their farming implements and domestick utensils, and some without; some with wagons, some with carts and some on foot, according to their abilities: — The residue, who made use of the best accommodations on the roads, are country merchants, judges and lawyers attending the courts, members of the legislature, and the better class of settlers removing back.

CUMING'S *Tour to the Western Country* (1807–1809). Edited by THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. IV. 62.

Derived or Secondary Stimuli

Among the products of inter-stimulation and response are innumerable conditions, events, relations, acts, ideas, beliefs, plans, and ideals, that no sooner come into existence than they become in their turn stimuli of further responses, both differing and alike. Because of their origin in preëxisting social conditions, they must be classed as Derived or Secondary Stimuli. In any highly developed society they play a larger part than the primary stimuli from which social activities in the first instance arise.

Chief Stimuli of Modern Social Life

The most immediate and the most important stimuli of modern social life are products of past responses to yet earlier stimuli. The very arrangements under which we live, the groupings of human beings, their ideas and purposes, their aims, their ideals, their laws and institutions are ever-present, ever-potent causes of continuing collective action. Of all the stimuli that move men to mighty and glorious coöperation, none can be compared with a great ideal. The ideals of liberty, of freedom, of enlightenment,

lift men to-day in gigantic waves of collective effort like resistless tides of the sea. American life preëminently has consisted in responses to these ideals. The Declaration of Independence was an ideal, and nothing more; but the response to it was the successful struggle of a people to establish itself forever among the nations of the earth as a republic of men pledged unalterably to civil liberty. The federal constitution, drafted by Hamilton and his co-workers, was a stupendous ideal. The response to it was its acceptance by thirteen commonwealths, and subsequently the rising of a mighty people to maintain and to consolidate for all time, the indissoluble Union.

GIDDINGS, *T. S. C.*

Classification of Secondary Stimuli. — A large class of secondary stimuli, through simple ideas, directly incites the motor system, and may therefore be denominated Ideo-Motor Stimuli. Another large class, through simple ideas, awakens chiefly emotional reactions, and may be called Ideo-Emotional Stimuli. A third class, through belief or dogma, appeals to emotion and belief, and may be called Dogmatic-Emotional Stimuli. A fourth class appeals, through knowledge, to the higher intellectual processes, and may be called Critically-Intellectual Stimuli.

Ideo-motor stimuli include, among conditions or events, the old, the established, the familiar; the new, the unusual, the sensational; economic opportunity. They include, also, such acts and conditions as an injury, to two or more; an offence; superior power (to which it is necessary to submit); expectation of conquering, subduing, controlling; opportunity for adventure or excitement; and such inducements as a bribe or a gift, patronage or payment.

Ideo-emotional stimuli include: impression (by a strong personality, class, or power); example; suggestion; persuasion; symbol, shibboleth; provocation of antipathy;

displeasure, or anticipated displeasure of association; provocation of sympathy; pleasure or anticipated pleasure of association.

Dogmatic-emotional stimuli include: command; authority; belief; dogma; plan; anticipated benefit of association; wrong (by a wrong doer, or by wrong doers).

Critically-intellectual stimuli include: evil (impersonal); knowledge; discussion; and ideals.

Stimuli as Causes of Social Phenomena

While in like-responses to common stimuli we have the substance, or subject-matter, of social phenomena, in the stimuli themselves we have proximate causes; and a key to the understanding of society, in both its organization and its historical development, is always to be found in a study of stimuli.

Relation of Subjective to Objective Causation. — It is, moreover, through a study of stimuli that the sociologist is able to learn somewhat of the true relation of idealistic to material causes in social evolution. In all social, as in all psychological phenomena, physical and mental processes are correlated.

Nature of Social Causation

Scientific psychology has found one way, and only one, to avoid any assumption of either materialism or idealism, in the philosophical sense of those words. It consists in centring attention upon the correlations of material and mental phenomena, rather than on the nature of things in themselves. External things are conceived as stimuli, and internal processes are conceived as responses to stimuli. Causation within the realm of mental phenomena, is thus regarded as psychophysical. It is a process in which the mental order changes in definite ways corre-

sponding to changes in an external order. To discover these ways and to formulate their laws is a sufficient scientific achievement in psychology. It is unnecessary to raise any question of the identity, or of the duality, of mind and matter.

GIDDINGS, *T. S. C.*

A Measure of Social Progress. — For the foregoing reasons, we have in the multiplication of the higher secondary stimuli, and in the extent of response thereto, the best available measure of social progress on the moral as distinguished from the material side.

Integration of Like-Response

Like-responsiveness to the same stimulus — and especially the like-responsiveness that is complicated by interstimulation and its consequences — is discovered in different stages of development. It may be observed in simple forms, in forms that are somewhat complex, and yet again in forms that are complex in a high degree. The word "integration" may be used to denote the combination of the mental activity of two or more individuals in one common activity or in producing a common product of their combined thought.

Degrees and Stages of Responsiveness. — The degrees and stages of responsiveness and of actual like-response to stimulus that have significance for the theory of social phenomena are: 1. Promptness of Response; 2. Degree of Completeness of Response; 3. Momentariness of Like-Response; and 4. Persistency of Like-Response.

1. *Prompt and Slow Response.* — It has been mentioned that like-response is not always simultaneous. In one large class of cases, the stimulus is repeated, and differing

or resembling individuals are subjected to it at different times. In other cases, sociologically more important, all the individuals concerned experience the stimulus at the same moment, but respond to it with varying degrees of promptness; some immediately, some after an appreciable interval, others after a longer time.

This differentiation of a population into those that respond promptly and those that respond tardily is the primary psychological ground of a differentiation into those that have the gifts of initiative and leadership and those others that have only the instinct to follow.

Prompt Response: A Domestic Unpleasantness in China

Mr. Hua Hsing-tun was a well-to-do farmer, who had in his courtyard a handsome pomegranate tree of which he was very proud. His youngest son one day got hold of a sickle, which had been sharpened ready to cut wheat the next morning. With this implement he chopped at everything he saw, and among the rest, at the pomegranate tree which fell at the third blow. Seeing what mischief he had done, he ran to the other end of the village where he played with some boys whom he told that a cousin (the third son of his fourth uncle) had done the deed. This was overheard by a neighbour who passed on to the other end of the village just in time to hear Mr. Hua angrily roaring out the inquiry who had spoiled his pet tree. During a lull in the storm the neighbour, who had stepped into the courtyard to see what was the matter, confided to another neighbour that it was the nephew who had done the mischief. The neighbours soon after depart. As no one in the yard knows anything about the tree, Mr. Hua, white with rage, continues his bawling upon the village street, denouncing the individual who had killed his tree. An older son who has just come up, having heard the story of the two neighbours, repeats it to his father, who gaining at last a clew, rushes to his fourth brother's yard, only to find no one at home but his sister-in-law, whom he

begins to revile in the most outrageous manner. For an instant only she is surprised, then takes in the situation and screams at her brother-in-law, returning his revilings with compound interest added. He retreats into the alley and thence to the street, whither she follows him, shrieking at the top of her voice.

At this juncture the unfortunate nephew alleged to be the author of the mischief attracted by the clamour comes home, when the infuriated uncle administers a great deal of abusive language relative to his illegitimate descent from a base ancestry, as well as a stunning blow with a stick. This drives the mother of the child to frenzy, and she attacks her brother-in-law by seizing his queue, being immediately pulled off by the second brother, and some neighbours, there being now fifty or more spectators. The fourth sister-in-law is forcibly dragged back to her own yard by several other women, screaming defiance as she goes, and ends by scratching her own face in long furrows with her sharp nails, being presently covered with blood. Her husband has now come in furious at the insult to his family, reviles the elder brother (and his ancestry) declaring that he will immediately go to the yemên and lodge a complaint. He takes a string of cash and departs on this errand, but is subsequently followed several miles by six men, who spend two hours in trying to get him to return, with the promise that they will "talk peace." About midnight they all reach home. Most of the next five days is spent in interviews between third parties, who in turn have other conferences with the principals. At the expiration of this period all is settled. Mr. Hua the elder is to make a feast at an expense of not less than ten strings of cash, at which he shall admit that he was in error in reviling this sister-in-law at that time; the younger brother is to accept the apology in the presence of fourteen other men who have become involved in the matter at some of its stages. When the feast has been eaten, "harmony" is restored. But what about the author of all this mischief? Oh, "he is only a child." With which observation the whole affair is dismissed, and forgotten.

ARTHUR H. SMITH, *Village Life in China*, 334–335.

2. *Partial and Complete Response.* — Whether non-simultaneous or simultaneous, the like-responsiveness of many individuals to the same stimulus may, as a psychological reaction, be more or less complete. It may be only an unconscious reflex; it may take the form of feeling and nothing more; it may take the form of idea only; it may be any synthesis of reflex, feeling, and idea; or, finally, it may involve volition, and take the form of conduct.

More individuals are alike in feeling than are alike intellectually, and more therefore can respond to a given stimulus to the extent of sharing a common feeling than can respond to the extent of cherishing the same idea or of arriving at a common judgment. More, in turn, can alike respond in idea or in judgment than can alike respond in conduct.

3. *Momentary Like-Response.* — The first stage of simultaneous like-response is a mere initial like-responsiveness, a mere first or momentary interest in any subject, as when an audience breaks into applause.

4. *Habitual Like-Response.* — A second stage in the integration of like-response is that persistent repetition of a given mode of response to the same repeated stimulus which becomes a continuous activity or occupation, a habit or a fixed manner.

Mental and Practical Resemblance. — Persistent or habitual modes of like-response constitute the mental and practical resemblances which are the chief factors of social phenomena.

From the earliest times, and in all parts of the world, human beings have classified one another according to their differing mental traits, their dispositions, and their characters, and also according to their differing tongues,

manners, and costumes, their differing ideas, beliefs, customs, and policies.

1. *Mental and Moral Types.* — As the processes and results of appreciation vary in different individuals, so appear different Types of Motor Reaction, of Emotion, and of Intellect.

According to the various ways in which men go about the activities of utilization, we find among them different Types of Disposition.

According to the varying degrees and results of characterization we find among men varying Types of Character.

A type of disposition and of character is always combined with some type of motor reaction, of emotion, and of intellect. We find, therefore, in the social population Types of Mind.

2. *Practical Differences and Resemblances.* — The types of reaction, of emotion, and of intellect; of disposition, of character, and of mind in its totality, are subjective products of the habitual modes of response to stimulus, more or less complicated by communication. Objective products are certain practical differences and resemblances, consisting of differing or resembling acquisitions and modes of conduct. Chief among them are language, manners, habits in respect of costume, amusements, arts, religion, science, economic ideas and habits, moral ideas and habits, laws and legal habits, political ideas, habits, and policies.

3. *Leaders and Followers.* — There is yet one further differentiation of a social population — a final mode of difference or of resemblance among associating individuals, which, in its origin, is an immediate consequence of differing degrees of response to stimulus, but which is accentuated and completed by the evolution of mental

types, and of such objective realities as practical acquisition and conduct. This is the differentiation into leaders and followers.

The Consciousness of Kind. — Like-response, whether momentary or habitual, may be caused independently of any influence exerted by the responding individuals upon one another through contact and acquaintance. More often, however, resembling individuals become acquainted, and through communication become aware of their resemblances and differences.

The awareness of resemblances and differences by the resembling individuals themselves is the third stage in the integration of like-response. It may be little more than a feeling of sympathy, or it may become a clean-cut perception. It may include feelings of affection and a desire for recognition. It will here be called by the general descriptive term, the Consciousness of Kind.

Concerted Volition. — The consciousness of kind in its higher developments, when, namely, it becomes a perceived like-response to the same stimulus, passes through various emotional and intellectual developments into concerted action. This is the fourth stage in the integration of like-response.

The Social Mind

The four stages of integration of like-response to stimulus are four modes of the Social Mind. This name does not denote any other consciousness than that of individual minds. The social mind is the phenomenon of individual minds acting simultaneously, and especially of individual minds in communication with one another acting concurrently.

Modes of the Social Mind. — The four modes of the social mind are: 1. Stimulation and Response; 2. Mental and Practical Differentiation and Resemblance; 3. The Consciousness of Kind, which, so far as we have any means of knowing, is the only social consciousness; 4. Concerted Volition.

Definition of the Social Mind. — Having regard to all of these modes, the social mind may be defined as the like-responsiveness to stimulation, the concurrent feeling and intelligence, the consciousness of kind, and the concerted volition of two or more individuals.

CHAPTER II

Differentiation and Resemblance

Socializing Forces

Mental and practical differences and resemblances, themselves products of the continuing action of relatively persistent stimuli, and of habitual activities and processes of selection, are in their turn forces determining the character of society. They are socializing forces.

Appreciation

Given some aptitude for like-response, and certain motives of habitual conduct manifesting themselves in certain habitual ways, the first condition of further socialization is knowledge. The individuals whose local relations are favorable to union must be acquainted in order to know whether or not they can combine. Knowledge with sympathy are the elements of appreciation; and appreciation is of varying degrees, determined by range of experience — by a narrower or a wider contact with mankind and with the world.

Appreciation, like characterization, is an accommodation of the mind to its environment, but while in characterization the accommodation is consciously effected, the accommodation of appreciation is for the most part an unconscious process.

Appreciation: New York City Tenement Dwellers

This investigation [in so far as it related to appreciation] resolved itself into such questions as: (1) How strongly do you prefer your own nationality — the people who speak your mother tongue, who believe in your religion, and follow your national customs? (2) Do you like any people besides these? Are they people whom you have come to know intimately? or (3) is there a wider group, as the American people, that you have come to know in a general way and to admire? (4) Does your interest go beyond this to humanity everywhere?

The answers to these questions reveal the four degrees of appreciation possible to such a heterogeneous group as may be found in a cosmopolitan city like New York.

THOMAS JESSE JONES, *The Sociology of a New York City Block*, 61: quoted *infra* as *S. C. B.*

Degrees of Appreciation. — The degree of appreciation depends upon the range of experience, and that in turn upon the means and habits of communication, and upon the variety of mental and moral types with which each individual is thrown in contact. The latter condition is a particularly important one in modern urban communities with their heterogeneous demotic composition.

Degrees of Appreciation: New York City Tenement Dwellers

The greatest single agency for developing appreciation is the public school. The average number of public school children from Block X is two hundred. Their influence in a population of about 900 persons is therefore important.

Summaries and totals may now be presented.

Two families in Block X show the lowest degree of appreciation, and so also do individual members of 28 other families.

These are families whose experience has been bounded almost entirely by acquaintance with their own people.

Necessity or narrow-mindedness has shut out the world beyond the range of blood relationship. Thus the Sicilians are friendly only with Sicilians; the Irish of Connaught do not care for the Irish of Leinster; the German Jew curses his brother from Russia.

Eighty-one families show a low degree of appreciation, and so also do individual members of 77 other families.

These are the families that are in process of naturalization. Their knowledge extends beyond the limits of blood-kinship, but it is not sufficiently wide to enable them to generalize concerning other nationalities or classes. Their preferences are limited by the direct knowledge of people and conditions that make up their environment.

One hundred and eighteen families show a high degree of appreciation and so also do individual members of 49 other families.

In these families naturalization is well under way. Sixty-two of them are completely Americanized. They have begun to realize the essential elements of the American ideal.

Ten families understand and appreciate not only those of their own kith and kin, not only those whom they know by actual contact, or whose activities they know to be controlled by the American spirit, but also the human race the wide world over. For instance, the mother of one family has visited her home in Switzerland once or twice. The relations of Protestants and Catholics in her own city of Zurich are familiar to her, and, though a Roman Catholic, she is possessed of so generous a spirit that she has much regard for Protestants. The mother of another family comes from good old Pennsylvania stock, and is a second cousin of one of the greatest Hebrew scholars of the world. She has read the newspapers widely and many good books. The family has been in touch with many nationalities. With its inherited instincts and bright disposition it is not surprising that this family should show some degree of interest in world activities, and that it should be capable of appreciating humanity in general.

The relative strength of the four degrees of appreciation in this community should be of interest to the student curious to know the relation of these families to their

environment, to the patriot eager to learn the extent to which these people comprehend the American people and American institutions, and to the altruist who desires to determine the probable progress of a social group in its estimate of social activities.

The more or less naturalized families are the strongest class, and it is more numerous than any other. This fact should be the cause of much encouragement to those who have been complaining that instead of "digesting its immigrants, the nation is dying."

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 73–74.

Motives of Appreciation. — The motives of appreciation are pains and pleasures of one and another kind.

Motives of Appreciation: New York City Tenement Dwellers

These pleasures [motives of appreciation] may psychologically be classified as follows: 1. Pleasures of Physical Activity, Receptive Sensation, and Simple Ideation; 2. Pleasures of Sense, Idea, and Emotion; 3. Pleasures of Emotion and Belief; 4. Pleasures of Thought.

* * * * * * *

Pleasures of Thought. — Few families in this block have an intellectual interest in their environment. Emotion enters so strongly into some apparently intellectual motives that it is difficult to be certain whether in any given instance we have to do with emotion or with intellect. For instance, family 155 has its front room decorated with pictures. For the best one the husband said that he paid twenty-five dollars. The picture is a fairly good oil painting of an ocean-liner ploughing her way through the waves of mid-ocean. The expenditure of so large a sum of money for a picture is unusual among families in this region, and is in itself an indication of something more than mere emotion. The good taste displayed in the selection of the picture is proof of some degree of critical judgment, and an increasing appreciation was shown by the husband's remark that he would not take fifty dollars

for it now. In this family the husband is of French-German parentage and the wife is an intelligent Irish-woman.

Family 158 includes a brother and sister past middle age. The sister is skilled in various kinds of fancy work and takes a keen interest in oil painting, which she studied when the family was in better financial condition. Here also is a clear case of a degree of æsthetic pleasure.

Tenement 219 has a case of critical, though limited, interest in art. Its occupant is a woman who lives by herself, and who, like family 158, is of the "cast down" class — *i.e.* one that has been pushed down from some higher stratum of society. She has a fairly thorough knowledge of music, both vocal and instrumental. Owing to her straitened circumstances her pleasures are eccentric. Her constant companions are a white rat and a large cat. These two animals are much attached to her and to each other. At present the woman is concerned about the rat because it sometimes falls into convulsions, due, as a doctor told her, to "consumption." These eccentricities would seem to bear out the common observation that it is either the dullest or the most sensitive persons that are most likely under the stress of life to lose self-control and mental balance. Here is an example of a highly sensitive woman just able to keep herself within the bounds of sanity.

In addition to those persons that are unable to satisfy their highest æsthetic desires are those others who, climbing up the social ladder, are reaching out for intellectual pleasures. House 235 offers instances. The younger occupants, urged on by the older ones, who feel their deficiencies, are engaging in the study of music and literature. Some families have pianos, upon which the children take lessons twice a week at fifty cents a lesson. They use the libraries frequently and show a real interest in good literature.

The better theatres appeal to a few of these families, and a criticism of certain plays by one of the Jewish girls was intelligent.

Pleasures of Emotion and Belief. — These pleasures are most general among those who still retain a degree of loyalty to the church. They are chiefly to be found

among Roman Catholics, but there are also a few Hebrews whose loyalty amounts to a pleasure in belief. There is not one family, however, whose pleasure in belief could be classed as intense. The tendency to religious beliefs is not strong. Few families are greatly controlled by religious principles. The beliefs most persistent among them, when once they gain foothold, are those of the socialistic type. The ideal of the socialist promises so great a relief from the oppressive industrial conditions under which wage-earners are living that this appeal is often more alluring than any that the church has to offer. But there are very few out-and-out socialists in this community.

Pleasures of Sense, or of Sense, Idea, and Emotion (in combination) are the prevailing pleasures of the block.

By pleasures of sense are meant those that appeal largely to the physical nature — pleasures of appetite and of bodily feeling. Pleasures of combined sense, idea, and emotion are those nervous and mental activities that are sufficiently intense to be exciting, but not immediately exhausting. They have various stimuli. The rhythm of music, the bright colors of pictures, unusual sounds or sights, startling statements, the uncertainty of chance, conflict, with an exciting uncertainty as to the result, are examples.

Of all the different amusements possible to tenement-dwellers there is none that appeals to both sense and emotion so strongly as dancing, especially dancing as conducted on the East Side, to the wild music of blaring cornet and loud-beaten drum, with rattling sounds from a guitar and mandolin. While the completeness with which the dance combines the two elements of sense and emotion is the chief reason for its preëminence as a social pleasure in this neighborhood, there are other reasons also, such as inexpensiveness and the fact that many different classes can participate.

Games of chance are very popular. This street has one policy shop on the ground floor of 217. According to a colored woman who has lived a long time in the block, there is little doubt that most of the boys in the street know about the place. That this woman herself is familiar with it indicates that it is widely known, for she is half a block away from it, and there is no sign by which it can be

identified. When the visitor knocked at the door he was totally unaware of the nature of the place. The young man who came out in response to the knock was better dressed than the people of the neighborhood. Upon being asked why he lived among such poor people, he answered in a very humble tone that he was just starting out in life.

This shop is opened at about half-past six in the morning, in time to catch men on their way to work. The charges are two cents for a "gig," three for a "saddle," and five for a "combination." These terms, "gig," "saddle," and "combination," denote varying degrees of chance of winning money prizes in the general drawing, which, in some mysterious manner, is supposed to be done in New Orleans or in Mexico.

There is scarcely a nationality that does not indulge in this form of gambling, but the Italians are probably the most addicted to it.

In house parties, such as those given at the Settlement, games with the element of chance and excitement in them are a never-failing source of enjoyment. Another requisite of any game is that it make little demand upon thought. Card-playing is common, but the games most popular are the easy ones. Especially is this true among the Italians, as is well illustrated by the remark of one of them: "I don't like pinocle; it keeps your head down too long." This attitude regarding amusements is characteristic of the East Side. Continuity of attention and concentration of effort are intolerable there. This fact should influence the whole of the work of education and culture on the East Side.

The entertainments that appeal to these people are for the most part made up of buffoonery, burlesque, and inanities in general. There are various appeals to the pathetic side, however — songs concerning childhood scenes, recollections of the old home, love of mother, and descriptions of heroic deeds, conveyed to the audience by means of stereopticon views, in song, or by dramatic sketches.

Next to the dancing-hall, the saloon is probably the greatest centre of amusement and social life. The saloons, however, entertain only the male population, and do not,

therefore, appeal to the entire community. But the fact that they are open nearly all the time, and not merely on certain evenings, increases the relative influence of the saloons. This is further widened by what is termed in the community "rushing the growler." The carrying of buckets of beer into the tenement-house is a frequent occurrence. The social drinking of beer, and of a wine that families make for themselves, is a large factor in the daily life of these people.

The religious services upon which many persons of each nationality are, of course, in constant attendance, appeal largely to the emotions. The Italians, however, seem to delight more in their holiday fireworks, the burning of powder and candles with loud noises and flashing flames, than they do in any church service. One priest said of them that in their July celebration they burn $3000 in useless smoke, and supply their priest with enough candles for a year; while they will not give more than $200 for real service.

The Jews assemble in their synagogues and take great pleasure in listening to the weekly chanting of the rabbi. This man stands in the middle of the room, swaying backward and forward, the audience doing likewise, and so the more completely giving itself up to his control, both bodily and in feeling.

Elementary Pleasures. — Pleasures of physical activity, receptive sensation, and simple ideation include muscular activity, mere satisfaction of physical appetites, and elementary mental processes, such as assertion of convictions, commanding, obeying, enduring, daring, and fearing.

The managers of the music halls and continued performances show their complete knowledge of their *clientèle* in that they never fail to introduce feats of physical prowess. So accurate is their estimate that a fairly good idea of the relation of the emotional to the physical pleasures of the neighborhood can be obtained from the proportion in which these are combined in the average East Side vaudeville show.

Gymnasiums never fail to attract large crowds. But even here we see the leaning towards emotional pleasures. This is shown in the preference for boxing and wrestling,

which are preëminently interesting because chance and excitement enter so strongly into them. The champion in these contests is the hero of the community, especially of that part which delights in physical pleasure. Mere physical strength in itself, or even strength displayed in the exercise of routine labor, has little attraction.

The proportion of the community preferring each of these four general classes of pleasure is as follows: In 38 families the dominant motives of appreciation are the most elementary pleasures, and this is true of individual members in 73 other families. In 170 families the dominant motives of appreciation are pleasures of sense, idea, and emotion, and this is true of individual members of 33 other families. In 6 families the dominant motives of appreciation are pleasures of emotion and belief, and these are subordinate motives in individual members of 84 other families. In no case are pleasures of thought clearly predominant, though they enter as subordinate motives into the conduct of a few individuals.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 43–49.

Methods of Appreciation. — The motives of appreciation work themselves out in actual appreciation through four chief methods, or, it might be more accurate to say, degrees of method. These are (1) Instinctive Response to Stimulus, (2) Curious Inspection, (3) Preferential Attention, (4) Critical Inspection, Comparison, and Analysis.

Methods of Appreciation: New York City Tenement Dwellers

Methods of appreciation are of four general groups. They are here arranged in an ascending series.

The simplest is that of instinctive response to stimulus. No one can escape this recognition of his environment. There is in a sense an intrusion of the environment upon the individual responding, though he himself is not conscious of either stimulus or response.

When the individual displays an interest in affairs about him, and desires to know more concerning them, he has

arrived at another state of appreciation, whose method is that of curious inspection.

When this general interest takes a specific form and preference is manifested, he may be said to have reached a state of preferential attention.

But the highest point of appreciation is not reached until the method of critical inspection is adopted. At this period the individual is eager to learn about all things, but he arrives at conclusions only after a critical examination which involves comparison and analysis.

* * * * * * *

Thirty-two families evince the degree of curiosity to be expected of those who have settled in a new country.

In 77 more families curiosity is nearly as strong, but many of these have been long enough in this part of the city for things to have become commonplace to them, while others show but little interest in their neighbors.

Through education and easier conditions 74 families are gradually awakening to a wider appreciation, though most of their time must be spent in mere drudgery.

For 16 families life is nearly all work, and curiosity, though manifested, is correspondingly low.

Preferential attention is a dominant method of appreciation in only 3 families. It is a subordinate method in 50.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 51, 56.

Types of Motor Reaction, Emotion, and Intellect

According as various degrees of mental development, — manifesting themselves, among other ways, in the various degrees of appreciation, — various motives, and various methods are combined in heredity, and, according as those are recombined with degrees and with kinds of individual experience, appear Motor Types, Emotional Types, and Intellective Types.

Classification of Types. — Motor types are prompt or slow, persistent or intermittent, involuntary or voluntary

Emotional types are in degree strong or weak; in temperament choleric, sanguine, melancholic, or phlegmatic. Intellective types may be classed with reference to particular intellectual states as suspicious, credulous, sceptical, or of balanced judgment. With reference to the manner of formation of belief or judgment they may be classed as (1) those whose beliefs are subjectively determined by instinct, habit, and auto-suggestion; (2) those whose beliefs are objectively determined by external suggestion, personal or impersonal; (3) those whose beliefs are subjectively determined by emotion, mood, or temperament; and (4) those whose beliefs are objectively determined by evidence. With reference to the mode of reasoning they may be classed as (1) those whose reasoning is conjectural; (2) those whose reasoning is analogical; (3) those whose reasoning is deductive or speculative, and critical of logical processes, but rarely of premises; and (4) those whose reasoning is both deductive and inductive, and critical of both premises and logic.

American Quickness

Americans have been much visited and much analyzed by Europeans of all degrees of cultivation. The two most important general descriptions of a people written in modern times are De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and Bryce's *American Commonwealth.* Less judicious than De Tocqueville and Bryce but in their perception of the minor traits of American character keener and more humorous, have been Dickens, Thackeray, and Paul Bourget. All of these distinguished men, and a thousand others less well known, have agreed in one observation, namely, that whether or not the American mind is as substantial as the English or the German mind, or as clear and logical as the French mind, it is quicker and more

adaptable than the mind of any other nation. No other population in the world is so sensitive to all manner of impressions, no other responds so quickly to all manner of stimuli. This would be a serious defect if our responsiveness were to those influences only that appeal to the senses and the emotions, because it is a commonplace of psychology that deliberation and all of that calm reasonableness which goes with deliberation, are incompatible with over-quick reflex action and with emotional impulsiveness. American quickness, however, is different from the swift, passionate fire of the Italian or the Spaniard. It is an intellectual quickness, which has been acquired through long practice in the art of practical judgment and of rational deliberation; until these very processes, slow and painful in the past history of mankind and in most other nations to-day, have in America arrived at almost the quickness of intuition. It is like the swift deftness of an accomplished pianist, who with amazing rapidity fingers combinations of notes that when he began his training could be achieved only with the most toilsome effort. The American, in short, combines in a rare degree the power to deliberate when calm deliberation is still necessary, with the quickness of perception and the rapidity of decision acquired through long practice of deliberation in the past.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Athenian Vivacity

The Athenians, this gentleman adds, were a nation that had some relation to ours. They mingled gayety with business; a stroke of raillery was as agreeable in the senate as in the theatre. This vivacity, which discovered itself in their councils, went along with them in the execution of their resolves. The characteristic of the Spartans was gravity, seriousness, severity, and silence. It would have been as difficult to bring over an Athenian by teasing as it would a Spartan by diverting him.

MONTESQUIEU, *De l'esprit des loix*, translated by THOMAS NUGENT, Vol. I. 317.

Greek Emotional Types

In the case of Asia Minor, it seems almost certain that the dominant races, Lycians, Carians, Ionians and the like, were but small invading tribes, while the mass of the population of the country was of different, perhaps Semitic, stock. To these earlier inhabitants belongs the worship of Cybele and kindred nature-goddesses, as well as of Attis, Sabazius, and other deities of the orgiastic kind. It is extremely likely that we may find a parallel series of phenomena, which have hitherto almost escaped observation, in Greece and perhaps Italy. In Greece also it is likely that the true Aryan Greeks were always a comparatively small though dominant caste. Beneath them was a mass of population on which they imposed their language and their usages, but which retained in many ways the impress of a different temperament and a less finely endowed nature, and which often reacted upon the dominant tribes of purer blood.

However this may be, it is certain that in both Asia Minor and Greece proper there was a demand for a more ecstatic and emotional religion than that of the cultivated Hellenes. Of such religion we find, as Rohde has clearly shown, scarcely any trace in the Homeric poems. The gods of Olympus are to the aristocracy of Homer anything but mystic; on the contrary, most anthropomorphic and orderly. The Homeric prophet Calchas is no inspired man, but one who has acquired skill to read the future in the flight of birds and other divine signs. But there no doubt existed in the Homeric age among the common people a religion of a less cultivated and more enthusiastic character. Not only were there locally, as we have already seen, a multitude of curious observances and ancestral superstitions; but there were also enthusiasms not attached to the soil, but migratory over the whole of Greece, taking root in district after district, and city after city, and affording an outlet for those more irregular and unrestrained religious impulses which could scarcely find scope in the service of the regular deities of the cities.

By far the most important of these safety-valves, if we

may so term them, of Greek religion was the Dionysiac cult. Although the germs of that cult existed in many places in the form of rustic superstitions and practices, yet it was probably after the Homeric age that the orgiastic worship of Dionysius spread over all Greece, and furnished a more complete satisfaction to the untamed religious enthusiasms of the common people. Like the dance of death in mediæval Europe, the Dionysiac fury passed from district to district of Greece, and thence into Italy.

In all countries, women rather than men are subject to the epidemics of religious enthusiasm. So in Greece and Italy it was the Mænads or Bacchæ, women full of the Dionysiac passion, who flocked in swarms to the waste places, and there gave way to those strange impulses of mixed asceticism and self-indulgence, of sensual excess and the desire of a purer life, which have in all countries marked such outbursts. All through the great age of Greece the fever raged intermittently; in the Hellenistic age other ecstatic cults, those of Mithras, of Cybele, and of Isis, became rivals of that of Dionysus in popular favour.

We moderns find it hard to realize that the cultus of the God of Wine, in which naturally drinking to excess was a regular feature, could be anything but debasing and degrading. We are probably misled by the changed way in which alcoholic drinking is now regarded. Among us excessive indulgence in wine or spirits is a sottish and sensual habit, almost without higher elements. The place which wine held in the Bacchic cult, as a nervous stimulant, is partly taken in modern countries by other stimulants; such as tobacco and tea. The weak and diluted wine of the ancients did not make them, as spirits make the Englishman, stupid and brutal, but raised the spirits, cleared the mind, and diminished for the time the pressure of the body. Hence Dionysus was regarded as the god who saved men from heavy sensuality, and set the soul free from its corporeal burden, from the prison of the flesh, as the Dionysiac votaries phrased it.

GARDNER AND JEVONS, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, 212–213.

Italian Emotional Types

Times in Italy were rude during the middle ages; we only had a war of castles, they had the warfare of the streets. For thirty-three successive years, in the thirteenth century, the Buondelmonti on the one side with forty-two families, and the Uberti, on the other, with twenty-two families, fought without ceasing. They barricaded streets with *chevaux-de-frises* and fortified the houses; the nobles filled the city with their armed peasants from the country. Finally, thirty-six palaces, belonging to the vanquished, were demolished; and if the town-hall has an irregular shape, it is owing to the furious vengeance which compelled the architect to leave vacant the detested sites on which the destroyed houses stood. What would we say in these days if a battle in our streets, like that of June, lasted, not merely three days but thirty years; if irrevocable banishments deprived the nation of a quarter of its population; if the community of exiles, in league with strangers, roamed around our frontier awaiting the chances of a plot, or of a surprise, to force our walls and proscribe their persecutors in turn; if enmities and fresh strife intervened to irritate the conquerors after a victory; if the city, already devastated, was forced to constantly add to its devastations; if sudden popular tumults arose to complicate the internecine struggles of the nobles; if, every month, an insurrection caused the shops to be closed; if, every evening, a man on leaving his house, dreaded an enemy in ambush at the nearest corner? "Many of the citizens," says Dino Campagni, "having assembled one day on the square of the Frescobaldi, in order to bury a deceased woman, and, as was customary on such occasions, the citizens sitting below on rush mats and the cavaliers and doctors above on the benches, the Donati and the Cerchi sitting below facing each other, one of these, in order to arrange his mantle, or for some other reason, arose to his feet. His adversaries, suspecting something, sprang up also and drew their swords. The others did likewise, and they came to blows." Such a circumstance shows how high strung spirits were; burnished swords, ever ready,

leaped of themselves out of their scabbards. On leaving the table, heated with wine and words, their hands itched. "A party of young men in the habit of galloping together, being at supper one evening in the Kalends of May, became so excited that they resolved to engage the troop of the Cerchi, and employ their hands and arms against them. On this evening, which is the advent of Spring, the women assemble at the halls in their neighborhood to dance. The young men of the Cerchi encountered accordingly, the troop of the Donati, which attacked them with drawn swords. And in this encounter, Ricoverino of the Cerchi had his nose cut by a man in the pay of the Donati, which person it was said was Piero Spini; . . . but the Cerchi never disclosed his name, intending thus to obtain *greater vengeance*." This expression, almost removed from our minds, is the key of Italian history; the *vendetta*, in Corsican fashion, is a naturalized permanent thing between man and man, family and family, party and party, and generation and generation. "A worthy young man named Guido, son of Messire Cavalcante Cavalcanti, and a noble cavalier, courteous and brave but proud, reserved and fond of study, at enmity with Messire Corro, had frequently resolved to encounter him. Messire Corro feared him greatly because he knew him to be of great courage, and sought to assassinate Guido while he was upon a pilgrimage to St. James, which attempt failed. . . . Guido, thereupon, on returning to Florence, stirred up some of the young men against him, who promised him their aid. And one day being on horseback with some of the followers of the house of Cerchi and with a javelin in his hand, he spurred his horse against Messire Corro, thinking that he was supported by his party, and, passing him, he threw his javelin at him without hitting him. There was with Messire Corro, Simon, his son, a brave and bold young man, and Cecchino dei Bardi, and likewise many others with swords who started in pursuit of him, but not overtaking him, they launched stones after him and also flung them out of the windows on him so that he was wounded in the hand." In order to find similar practices at the present day we have to go to the placers of San Francisco, where, at the first provocation, in public and at balls or in

a café, the revolver speaks, supplying the place of policemen and dispensing with the formalities of a duel. Lynch law, frequently applied, is alone qualified to pacify such temperaments. It was applied now and then in Florence, but too rarely, and in an irregular manner, which is the reason why the custom of looking out for one's self, of ready blows and honored and honorable assassination, prevailed there up to the end of and beyond the middle ages. To make amends, this custom of keeping the mind always on the stretch, of constantly occupying it with painful and tragic sentiments, rendered it so much the more sensitive to the arts whose beauty and serenity afforded such contrasts. This deep feudal stratum, so ploughed and broken up, was essential in order to provide aliment and a soil for the vivacious roots of the renaissance.

TAINE, *Italy, Florence and Venice*, translated by JOHN DURAND, 84–87.

American Emotional Types

Emotionally and temperamentally the American people are by no means all of one sort. There are noticeable differences between the peoples of one geographical section and another, as the North and the South, the East and the West, and there are, of course, all the differences that go with that compositeness of blood which has already been described. It is generally recognized that the New Englander of the older stock is emotionally more sombre than the lighter hearted people of the South and the frankly natural, unrepressed people of the West. It is a serious question whether the temperamental gloom which undeniably was a characteristic of New England puritanism, and which has been in a measure diffused throughout the population that moved westward through New York, Ohio, Michigan, northern Indiana and Illinois, and on into Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, has not been correlated with the pathological phenomenon which is known as American nervousness, and especially with the susceptibility of American women in the northern States to "nervous prostration." Certain it is that the so-called New England conscience is less a fact of morals than of temperament. It

is a disposition to look too much upon the evils of life and the shortcomings of mankind; to be less kind to virtue and blind to faults than infallible in discovering sin. Naturally with this temperamental quality the people of puritan blood and traditions in their emotionalism have tended somewhat toward fanaticism. The spontaneous expression of human feeling cannot habitually be repressed, and the world cannot habitually be looked at in a spirit of condemnation, without creating forces which at times will burst forth in destructive activity. To one familiar through his historical studies with the teaching and the practice of New England puritanism two hundred and fifty years ago, it is wonderful not that the witches of Salem should have been hanged, or that the Baptists and Quakers of Massachusetts should have been expelled, but rather that there should not have been extensive persecutions, accompanied by great cruelty and widespread criminality. It speaks volumes for the average good sense and the high intelligence of the people of New England and their descendants, that the fanaticism which undoubtedly they have exhibited at one and another time has been relatively mild and harmless, and that it has almost without exception been called out by evil conditions that right feeling men could not fail to abhor. The anti-slavery movement, for example, was not devoid of the element of fanaticism; the prohibition and allied temperance movements have had their measure of it, especially in Maine and in Kansas. The anti-Mormon feeling in the days when the followers of Joseph Smith were being driven from New York to Ohio, from Ohio to Illinois, and from Illinois to Missouri and beyond, was marked by both fanaticism and criminality, and it is safe to say that calm minded men two hundred years from now, who read the anti-imperialistic literature which has been put forth since the Spanish War, will find it not wholly free from the fanatical spirit.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Emotional Types: New York City Tenement Dwellers

A majority of the dwellers in Block X belong to an emotional type that may be called the Joyous-Sanguine.

A certain degree of joyousness, that is to say, a capability of rejoicing upon very slight and simple provocation, and in spite of the hardships of their lives, is the prevailing emotional state of these people. This state is to be distinguished from cheerfulness. Relatively few of these families are habitually bright and cheerful. This minority is composed of the Americans, Irish and Italians that are prosperous. The joyous majority are not always happy, but their natural tendencies are towards happiness when conditions are reasonably favorable.

Morose natures are exceptional, and most of these are persons who, because of old age or physical weakness, are completely discouraged by their misfortunes. Among them, however, are a few Hebrews whose natures seem always to have been gloomy.

The Italians on occasion exhibit fear, anger, jealousy, and hatred. Their fear is largely due to their inability to understand American ways and their continual dread of officers. They cannot free themselves from the attitude toward officers that has developed in their native land.

A majority of this community are sanguine in temperament. The very fact that they have come to this country with exceedingly small resources is evidence enough of this. Their hopefulness is really their principal capital. There is scarcely a family in the group that has not suffered very trying misfortunes, but all have been buoyed up by their sanguine temperament.

The few choleric temperaments include certain quarrelsome Italians who have suffered more reverses than they could endure, but who have not yet given up the struggle and become melancholic.

The melancholic minority is very small and is composed chiefly of Hebrews. Other nationalities, however, contribute individuals that have broken down in health and in spirit.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 75–76.

American Intellective Types

Emotion and temperament are closely bound up with qualities of imagination, peculiarities of belief, and habits

of reasoning. These mental complexes, as exemplified in the American people, can best be understood if we look for their manifestations in the three European racial varieties. The Mediterranean stocks are emotionally quick, easily excited, and as easily quieted. The Baltic peoples are slower to awaken, but their feelings once aroused are persistent. The Alpine stocks, differing from both the Mediterranean and the Baltic, are slow, contemplative, and tender hearted. The imagination of the Alpine peoples is sentimental, concerning itself with subjective moods and fancies, and is often singularly beautiful in its play of feeling. The imagination of the Mediterranean peoples is plastic, seeking expression in architecture, sculpture, and painting; that of the Baltic peoples is dramatic, seeking expression in action, and in dramatic art.

Among the Mediterranean peoples belief is determined on the whole objectively, by external suggestion, falling short, however, of evidence in a scientific sense of the word. Among the Alpine and the Baltic peoples there is a tendency towards a subjectively formed judgment, — an acceptance of beliefs suggested and moulded less by external facts, evidential or otherwise, than by emotion, mood, and temperament. This trait has been revealed especially in the powerful hold which dogmatic theology has had upon the northern European mind, and in the German fondness for speculative philosophy. The habit of inductive research, and of arriving at conclusions by a scientific weighing of evidence, seems to be correlated with a mixture of bloods; of Baltic with Mediterranean or Alpine, or of Alpine with Mediterranean. This has been shown in Galton's studies of Englishmen of science, and it is further rendered probable by the geographical distribution of the scientific mind elsewhere in Europe. Science has been developed chiefly where these racial varieties have most thoroughly intermingled and amalgamated.

So far, then, as the fundamental qualities of mind are concerned no harm can come to us through the infusion of a larger measure of Mediterranean and Alpine blood. It will soften the emotional nature, it will quicken the poetic and artistic nature. We shall be a more versatile, a more plastic people; gentler in our thoughts and feel-

ings because of the Alpine strain, livelier and brighter, with a higher power to enjoy the beautiful things of life, because of the Celtic and the Latin blood. And probably through the commingling of bloods, we shall become more clearly and fearlessly rational; in a word, more scientific.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Intellective Types: New York City Tenement Dwellers

Very few individuals in this community are capable either of scepticism or of balanced judgment. A majority are credulous and many are suspicious, especially among the Hebrews and Italians.

Credulity was oftenest revealed by a complete faith in strangers. A common belief in the fortune or misfortune foretold by cards indicated both credulity and superstition.

Superstition is somewhat less common than credulity, however. The Jew has the Mesusa upon his door post and the Italian hangs his beads at the head of his bed and a holy picture on the wall at his feet. In one house superstition was used to accomplish a practical end through the medium of the much condemned "chain letter." A typewritten letter of this kind had been mailed in an open envelope with a one-cent stamp. It requested each person to send twenty-five cents to the minister or priest, and also the name and address of three friends. As a reward for doing this, the letter carefully explained that the enclosed aluminum heart-shaped medal with a cross upon it was blessed, and promised that the three friends, when their names were received, should receive similar medals.

Belief, in a majority of these people, is objectively determined by external suggestion. In comparatively few is it internally determined by emotion, mood, or temperament, and in very few objectively, by evidence.

The reasoning of a majority is of the conjectural type, being little more than guess work. Very few reason speculatively and none, so far as discovered, inductively.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 76–77.

Relative Extent of Resemblance in Instinct, Feeling, and Intellect. — The individuals making up any social popula-

tion are more alike in instinct than in feeling, and more alike in feeling than in intellect; or, to express the same fact in a slightly different way, the resemblance in instinct is wider, that is, it includes more individuals than the resemblance in feeling, and the resemblance in feeling is wider than the resemblance in intellect.

Utilization

Utilization is the deliberate and systematic adaptation of the external world to ourselves.

Degrees of Utilization. — Like the degrees of appreciation, the degrees of utilization are determined by the range of experience.

Motives of Utilization. — The motives which lead men to attempt to utilize their environment, and to adapt it to themselves, include, need or intolerance of pain; appetite, or craving for pleasure; the sense of power, and the love of exercising power; and rational desire, or the craving of our entire intellectual and moral nature for the higher satisfactions.

Motives of Utilization: New York City Tenement Dwellers

A large majority of the families in this block are influenced by the sense of appetite in their search and demand for food and pleasures. These people are so frugal and industrious that but few are urged on by the motive of absolute need. Some in full health, strong of body and active in spirit, are moved by a sense of power and a passion to exercise it. A few are controlled by rational desire, indicated by their struggles for the education of their children in the courses in music and in art. The majority of these are of Jewish families.

Making the distribution somewhat more precise, we can say, with a close approach to accuracy, that in 13 families

dwelling in this block the dominant economic motive is need, and that it is a subordinate motive in 29 families; that appetite is the dominant economic motive in 181 families, and a subordinate motive in 12; that love of power is the dominant economic motive in 2 families and a subordinate motive in 110 families, and that rational desire is the dominant economic motive in 2 families and a subordinate motive in 22 families.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 49.

Methods of Utilization. — The motives of utilization work themselves out in actual utilization through four chief methods, namely, (1) attack, (2) instigation, (3) direction (including impression and domination), (4) invention.

Methods of Utilization: New York City Tenement Dwellers

The methods whereby men utilize their environment, adapting it to their needs, and making both inanimate things and their fellow-beings serve their wants are: attack; instigation, and the response thereto in imitation; direction, largely by means of the mental power of a strong will to impress a weak one; and, lastly, invention.

People living in a city block are commonly above the rude methods of attack whereby brutes and savages gain a livelihood. Yet a measure of it is sometimes seen in connection with other forces. The lower classes of laborers engaged in the simplest and roughest work of handling material in the raw state seem at times to exist by mere brute force.

The imitative instinct prevails. The foreign-born follow the example of those who have been in the country longer, and, being of the lower economic strata, they look for methods of procedure to those who have attained a position which they hope to reach. The directive method is often seen in the house into which the immigrants enter. The naturalized elements take on a directive attitude toward the new-comers, and use them for their own profit. But

it is not those who are directive in this rather artificial sense that are here recorded as such, but rather those who are naturally leaders, strong and commanding in mind or body.

In 18 families those more brutal methods of utilization that approximate closely to savage attack were obvious enough to indicate that they would dominate economic conduct, but for the restraints of a civilized environment. In 86 families these methods, still apparent, were further subordinated. In 174 families imitation is the dominant economic method, and in 17 others an important subordinate method. In 6 families direction of others asserts itself as the dominant method, and in 27 families as a subordinate method.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 57–58.

Types of Disposition

Methods and habits of utilization combine with reactions of the environment upon individuals to create Types of Disposition. Commonly, however, the individual is not conscious of these reactions, while the moulding of character, to be spoken of later on under the title Characterization, results from a conscious effort of the individual to adapt himself to his environment.

Classification of Dispositions. — The four great types of disposition are, the Aggressive; the Instigative, which works through other men by suggestion, temptation, or persuasion; the Domineering, which asserts authority, commands, superintends, and guides; and the Creative, which assumes responsibility for new and complicated enterprises.

American Dispositions

In disposition the Alpine stocks are somewhat lacking in ambition; they care little for the outward circumstances of life and still less for all that we mean by the phrase "keeping up appearances." The economist would de-

scribe them by saying that their standard of living is relatively low. The Mediterranean stocks are leisure loving, but not indolent. They lack aggressiveness, and in so far as they work upon human beings in their industrial and political activities, they are instigative rather than domineering in their methods. The Baltic peoples are aggressive, domineering, and creative. In energy and ambition they surpass other branches of the white race. The great predominance of the Baltic stocks in the American population hitherto, combined with the conditions peculiar to a new country, have made us preëminently an energetic, practical people, above all, an industrial and political people. There is no reason to suppose that the dilution of the Baltic blood which is now going on will be sufficient to impair seriously these qualities, particularly in view of the fact already presented, that the Mississippi valley, overwhelmingly English-Teutonic in stock, industrially and politically dominates the continent.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Relative Extent of Each of the Four Types of Disposition.— While we lack adequate statistical material from which to determine the distribution of the types of disposition, common observation assures us that instigative dispositions are more numerous than the aggressive, and much more numerous than the domineering, while relatively few dispositions are creative.

Dispositions: New York City Tenement Dwellers

The Irish form the larger proportion of the aggressive. The Jews contribute largely to the instigative and imitative type. Many of them have the understanding to be directive but they lack the virile aggressiveness necessary to directive power. The majority of Italians are divided between the two lower types. The creative type, as manifested in the entrepreneur who assumes responsibility, is not represented.

The totals are as follows: Ten families are in disposition

of the merely aggressive type, and so also are individual members of 111 other families. Two hundred and one families are instigative or imitative in disposition, and so also are individual members of 9 other families. Thirty-one families are directive or domineering in disposition, and so also are individual members of 59 other families.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 77–78.

Characterization

By the practical activity of characterization is meant the adjustment of the individual to his environment, which becomes necessary when he can no farther adapt the environment to himself, and the resulting moulding of character.

Degrees of Characterization. — Like the degrees of appreciation and of utilization, the degrees of characterization are determined by the range of experience.

Motives of Characterization. — The motives of characterization include neglected desires, new desires, the sense of the authority of integral desire — the authority of the desires of the organism in their entirety, as over against any particular desire, and a sense of proportion in life.

Motives of Characterization: New York City Tenement Dwellers

The dominant moral motive of an ordinarily intelligent person, not too much controlled by religious mandates, is, more or less unconsciously, the desire for complete development. This is more true, however, of the deliberative individual than of the impulsive. The latter is likely to be controlled by new desires, and when neglected desires rise into power, he rushes into excesses. American manners, dress, industrial conditions, all give rise to new desires in the heart of the immigrant, and many families in this block have been classified as largely dominated by them. But

the largest proportion is classified with those that are controlled by the authority of the integral personality. This is an unconscious yearning for complete development along all lines — physical, mental, and moral. The Jews, with their calculating and discriminating disposition, form a large part of this class. They are generally obedient to the demands of the larger life. They are careful of their bodies and of their minds. They hasten to obtain all available things that contribute to their development. Very few families in this block have any conception of proportion in life, and none has been recorded as chiefly dominated by this Platonic motive.

The record of observation on this subject is as follows: In one family only, hitherto neglected desires, reasserting their power, are the dominant moral motive; in five families they are a subordinate motive. In 58 families new desires are the dominant, in 132 families they are a subordinate moral motive. In 150 families a sense of the authority of an integral personality, a larger life, is the dominant, in 58 families it is a subordinate moral motive.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 50.

The Methods of Characterization. — The methods of characterization are, persistence, accommodation, self-denial, and self-control.

Methods of Characterization: New York City Tenement Dwellers

In a community largely composed of immigrants, accommodation is naturally the prevailing mode of characterization. The conditions about them are strange, and they must adapt their mode of life to them. Their relation to the landlords, the employers, the government, and the people about them, have little in common with corresponding relations in their native land. It is likely that the Russian Jews find the greatest differences between their new life and the old. Life "within the pale" to which the Jew in Russia is limited and the freedom in this country

are at opposite extremes. Within the pale the individual Jew is perfectly free from the direct action of the government. Government oppression falls upon the community as a whole, and the individual is not conscious of it as coming from the government, but as an act of Providence which cannot be avoided. The Jews' impression of American freedom is at first very peculiar. They are confused by it. In Russia they could dress and worship as they pleased; here they find that they must conform to the American customs or be the object of unpleasant ridicule. The government deals directly with the individual, and in our larger cities municipal control often seems paternal to them. They conclude that the freedom which they sought is not here. Through the process of accommodation they gradually take up our customs and the real meaning of our institutions dawns upon them.

The Jew is ever ready to adopt the best in the system of others in order to be successful. Even his reputed persistence in religion gives way to accommodation for the sake of more useful ends. His desire for superiority, in whatever realm he chooses, is the motive of all his activities; for this he accommodates his own manners to those of others, for this he denies himself. His natural inclinations are controlled to suit the end which he wishes to accomplish.

The Irish and American families of this block are either of the higher class in which self-control prevails, or of that in which accommodation is the method of characterization. Too often it is the latter, for they are willing to accept conditions as they are rather than to struggle, deny themselves, and attain to better conditions. This is especially true of the "left-over" class, which has been deserted by the more ambitious Irish and American families. The accommodation of these people is different from that of the Jews, in that the latter act consciously and for a purpose while the former act unconsciously, merely resigning themselves to the new conditions forced upon them.

The persistent class is composed of the conservative element of the community, and of the ignorant and dull, but thrifty, people. The old people and a portion of every nationality in the block possess persistency of purpose. The severe economic pressure of life in a large city forces

many of these families to a mode of action different from the natural. The Italian, by nature volatile and unsteady, under the stress of circumstances becomes persistent and self-denying in his endeavours for success. The most remarkable instance of accommodation seen in this block is that furnished by the coöperative plan of living adopted by several Italian families. Independently of one another four groups of two or three families each ate all their meals in common. They had undoubtedly chosen this manner of living in order to succeed under the new conditions found in this country.

In 21 families mere persistence was found to be the dominant method of accommodation, and in 121 more families a subordinate method. In 149 families accommodation was the dominant, and in 51 families a subordinate method. In 43 families self-denial was the dominant, and in 62 families a subordinate method. In 27 families self-control was the dominant, and in 22 families the subordinate method.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 58–60.

Types of Character

Produced by the different degrees of motive and of method are four great Types of Character, which, as modes of mental and practical resemblance, are not less important among factors of society, than are the types of emotion, of intellect, and of disposition.

Classification of Types. The types of character created by the activities and methods of characterization are, 1, the Forceful, in which are emphasized the qualities of courage and power; 2, the Convivial, or pleasure-loving type; 3, the Austere, a product of reaction against the excesses of convivial indulgence; and 4, the Rationally-Conscientious, a product of the reaction against and progress beyond the austere type.

Genesis of Character Types

To a majority of men, the struggle for existence is still fraught with difficulty and risk, and often with peril. Most men, therefore, still have need of force and courage, and most men profoundly admire these qualities. It is doubtful if the transition from chronic warfare to a busy industrial civilization materially diminishes the demand for primitive virtues. Not only the soldier and the marine, but also the common sailor, the explorer and the engineer, the ranchman and the miner, and even the farmer and the mechanic, are compelled by the daily exigencies of their lives to scorn and cast out the over-timid co-worker. Consequently it is not among primitive men only that physical prowess is valued above all other gifts. In modern populations, also, the average man, who cares little for the graces of body or of mind, is likely to care everything for the mere power to achieve. The strong and valorous comrade he admires above all other characters. This universal adoration of power is modified or coloured, of course, by other emotions and by the intellectual processes. It may even take the form of a supreme admiration of intellectual or moral power, as distinguished from physical strength, but in one or another form it is the ruling sentiment, the fundamental preference of mankind. The prize fighter, the athlete, the military hero, the imperturbable leader who can withstand the assaults of malignity, these are the popular idols.

To mankind generally the chief relaxation in the struggle for existence is found in social pleasures of the convivial type. Enough not only to eat, but also to drink, the jovial pleasures of feast and bout, these rude rewards of dangerous toil are still dear to the average man. And so, most naturally, when peril is past and the day's work is done, the average man desires that his companions, like himself, shall enter into the spirit of good-fellowship. The convivial man becomes a type of character widely appreciated. Like the valorous, this type is modified and refined in various ways, but chiefly by prosperity and the differentiating effects of increasing wealth. In prosperous

communities the convivial man becomes the pleasure-loving man in manifold avatars. At his best he is the gracious man; and, as such, he often is a popular idol only less adored than the military hero. As such, he must be a prosperous man, and gifted. But above all things he must, with his accomplishments, combine generosity, liberality of spirit, and the love of enjoyment. By his talents or his wealth he must contribute in numberless ways to the pleasure of his fellow-men. Withal, he must be a complaisant man, a respecter of the social virtues, but discreetly and often more than a little blind to the reigning faults and follies of a luxurious age.

Thus two of the generic ideals of character spring directly from a successful struggle for existence. The valorous man and the convivial man are nature's primordial products in the moral realm. But in this realm, as in that of physical life, nature is wasteful to a degree that appals imagination. That we may see one life of truly heroic mould, she spawns a million stalwart brutes; and that we may have the truly gracious strain, she permits unnumbered roisterers to waste not only their substance, but even their inmost souls.

It is by reaction against these wastes that we get the two remaining types and ideals of character. In some of those who have too often seen a jovial intoxication end in sottishness; who have too often seen luxury pass over into debauchery and wantonness; who have even seen graciousness become a wretched deceit that ends in dishonour, a healthy opposition has been aroused, and they have begun to demand of themselves and of their associates the exercise of a decent self-restraint. Under circumstances of prolonged and general hardship, when the mere maintenance of life becomes difficult, this demand is strengthened by experiences of intolerable burdens laid upon the prudent by all extravagant indulgences on the part of the reckless. Under such circumstances, the demand is not only for self-restraint, but also for self-denial. It is then that the austere man, who can firmly put aside the pleasures of life, and in mere duty give himself to severe employments, is idealized by thousands of those humble and patient ones to whom the struggle for existence has brought neither

any great success nor overwhelming disaster, but only life itself, in exchange for unremitting toil.

The austere man, therefore, is the character-ideal of a section of mankind by no means insignificant. Variously known in history as the Hebraic, the Roman, the Puritan type, he has often commanded an uncompromising allegiance and played a leading rôle.

But from the ranks of austere men, inured to hardship, there continually spring those individuals, numbered in modern times by tens of thousands, who achieve a real and often a great success in the universal struggle. To such, mere existence is no longer the sole reward of effort. Opportunities open before them for an expansion of life. For them emotion is attuned and coloured, and the ranges of thought are widened. They do not cease to be self-restrained, but they become intellectually fearless. They can no longer think of self-denial as inherently good, but they can make sacrifices for worthy ends. Enlightened, yet still sincere, they look with tolerant minds upon much which they do not commend. In such men is born the highest of all ideals of character, that of the rationally conscientious man. Always striving to break through narrowing limitations, but casting aside pretence of every sort, the rationally conscientious man endeavours in his conduct to express and to perfect his own essential nature. Perceiving in himself many unrealized possibilities, some of larger life and some of moral decay, he looks frankly at them all, and, resisting those that make for degeneration, without apology yields to those of growth. His habit, therefore, is not that of indulgence for its own sake or of self-denial for its own sake: it is a rational choosing of the larger life. Thus the perfect ideal of rationally conscientious manhood contains the notion of self-realization, and, on the objective side, that of meliorism or progress. The rationally conscientious man believes in the mental and moral advancement of his race. Exploring the wider possibilities of conscious existence, he tries to establish the intellectual habit, to broaden knowledge, to perfect the forms of beauty in manners and in art, to enlighten the ignorant, to open new opportunities to those who have enjoyed but little, to improve the forms of society and of

the state, and to perform with wisdom the duties of a citizen.

These, then, are the four original ideals of character, created directly, or through reaction, by the struggle for existence. In every population they are simultaneously held, and nearly every individual admires or believes in more than one of them; not, however, with equal intensity. In a majority of minds the ideal of valour is supreme, but the convivial man is next best beloved. To a large minority of minds the ideal of the austere man appeals with constraining power. The rationally conscientious man remains the ideal of the relatively few.

GIDDINGS, *Democracy and Empire*, 317–320.

Forceful Character: Julius Cæsar

Thus far have we followed Cæsar's actions before the wars of Gaul. After this, he seems to begin his course afresh, and to enter upon a new life and scene of action. And the period of those wars which he now fought, and those many expeditions in which he subdued Gaul, showed him to be a soldier and general not in the least inferior to any of the greatest and most admired commanders who had ever appeared at the head of armies. For if we compare him with the Fabii, the Metelli, the Scipios, and with those who were his contemporaries, or not long before him, Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himself, whose glory, it may be said, went up at that time to heaven for every excellence in war, we shall find Cæsar's actions to have surpassed them all. One he may be held to have outdone in consideration of the difficulty of the country in which he fought, another in the extent of territory which he conquered; some, in the number and strength of the enemies whom he defeated; one man, because of the wildness and perfidiousness of the tribes whose good-will he conciliated, another in his humanity and clemency to those he overpowered; others, again, in his gifts and kindnesses to his soldiers; all alike in the number of the battles which he fought and the enemies whom he killed. For he had not pursued the wars in Gaul full ten years, when he had taken by storm above

eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred states, and of the three millions of men, who made up the gross sum of those with whom at several times he engaged, he had killed one million, and taken captive a second.

He was so much master of the good-will and hearty service of his soldiers, that those who in other expeditions were but ordinary men, displayed a courage past defeating or withstanding when they went upon any danger where Cæsar's glory was concerned.

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This love of honour and passion for distinction were inspired into them and cherished in them by Cæsar himself, who, by his unsparing distribution of money and honors showed them that he did not heap up wealth from the wars for his own luxury, or the gratifying his private pleasures, but that all he received was but a public fund laid by for the reward and encouragement of valor, and that he looked upon all he gave to deserving soldiers as so much increase to his own riches. Added to this, also, there was no danger to which he did not willingly expose himself, no labor from which he pleaded an exemption. His contempt of danger was not so much wondered at by his soldiers because they knew how much he coveted honor. But his enduring so much hardship, which he did to all appearance beyond his natural strength, very much astonished them. For he was a spare man, had a soft and white skin, was distempered in the head and subject to an epilepsy, which, it is said, first seized him at Corduba. But he did not make the weakness of his constitution a pretext for his ease, but rather used war as the best physic against his indispositions; whilst by indefatigable journeys, coarse diet, frequent lodging in the field, and continual laborious exercise, he struggled with his diseases, and fortified his body against all attacks.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by A. H. CLOUGH, 510–511.

Forceful Character: John Smith

The life of Smith, as it is related by himself, reads like that of a belligerent tramp, but it was not uncommon in

his day, nor is it in ours, whenever America produces soldiers of fortune who are ready, for a compensation, to take up the quarrels of Egyptians or Chinese, or go wherever there is fighting and booty.

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But of one thing we may be certain: he was seeking adventure according to his nature, and eager for any heroic employment; and it goes without saying that he entered into the great excitement of the day — adventure in America.

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It is now time to turn to Smith's personal adventures among the Indians during this period. Almost our only authority is Smith himself, or such presumed writings of his companions as he edited or rewrote. Strachey and others testify to his energy in procuring supplies for the colony, and his success in dealing with the Indians, and it seems likely that the colony would have famished but for his exertions. Whatever suspicion attaches to Smith's relation of his own exploits, it must never be forgotten that he was a man of extraordinary executive ability, and had many good qualities to offset his vanity and impatience of restraint.

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It is necessary to follow for a time the fortune of the Virginia colony after the departure of Captain Smith. Of its disasters and speedy decline there is no more doubt than there is of the opinion of Smith that these were owing to his absence. The savages, we read in his narration, no sooner knew he was gone than they all revolted and spoiled and murdered all they encountered.

The day before Captain Smith sailed, Captain Davis arrived in a small pinnace with sixteen men. These, with a company from the fort under Captain Ratcliffe, were sent down to Point Comfort. Captain West and Captain Martin, having lost their boats and half their men among the savages at the Falls, returned to Jamestown. The colony now lived upon what Smith had provided, and now they had presidents with all their appurtenances.

President Percy was so sick he could neither go nor stand. Provisions getting short, West and Ratcliffe went abroad to trade, and Ratcliffe and twenty-eight of his men were slain by an ambush of Powhatan's, as before related in the narrative of Henry Spelman. Powhatan cut off their boats, and refused to trade, so that Captain West set sail for England. What ensued cannot be more vividly told than in the *General Historie:*

"Now we all found the losse of Captain Smith, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse; as for corne provision and contribution from the salvages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes."

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Captain John Smith returned to England in the autumn of 1609, wounded in body and loaded with accusations of misconduct, concocted by his factious companions in Virginia.

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Failing to obtain employment by the Virginia Company, Smith turned his attention to New England, but neither did the Plymouth Company avail themselves of his service. At last in 1614 he persuaded some London merchants to fit him out for a private trading adventure to the coast of New England.

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John Smith first appears on the New England coast as a whale fisher. The only reference to his being in America in Josselyn's *Chronological Observations of America* is under the wrong year, 1608: "Captain John Smith fished now for whales at Monhiggen." He says: "Our plot there was to take whales, and made tryall of a Myne of gold and copper;" these failing they were to get fish and furs. Of gold there had been little expectation, and (he goes on) "we found this whale fishing a costly conclusion; we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any; they being a kind of Jubartes, and not the whale that yeeldes finnes and oyle as we expected." They then turned their attention to smaller fish, but owing to their late arrival and "long lingering about the whale"

— chasing a whale that they could not kill because it was not the right kind — the best season for fishing was passed. Nevertheless, they secured some 40,000 cod — the figure is naturally raised to 60,000 when Smith retells the story fifteen years afterwards.

But our hero was a born explorer, and could not be content with not examining the strange coast upon which he found himself. Leaving his sailors to catch cod, he took eight or nine men in a small boat, and cruised along the coast, trading wherever he could for furs, of which he obtained above a thousand beaver skins; but his chance to trade was limited by the French settlements in the east, by the presence of one of Popham's ships opposite Monhegan, on the main, and by a couple of French vessels to the westward. Having examined the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and gathered a profitable harvest from the sea, Smith returned in his vessel, reaching the Downs within six months after his departure. This was his whole experience in New England, which ever afterwards he regarded as particularly his discovery, and spoke of as one of his children, Virginia being the other.

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Smith was not cast down by his reverses. No sooner had he laid his latest betrayers by the heels than he set himself resolutely to obtain money and means for establishing a colony in New England, and to this project and the cultivation in England of interest in New England he devoted the rest of his life.

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As a writer he was wholly untrained, but with all his introversions and obscurities he is the most readable chronicler of his time, the most amusing and as untrustworthy as any. He is influenced by his prejudices, though not so much by them as by his imagination and vanity.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, *Captain John Smith*, 7–8, 35–36, 95, 190–191, 247, 250–251, 252–253, 263, 303.

Convivial Character: Sir Roger de Coverley

The first of our society is a gentleman of Worcestershire, of ancient descent, a baronet, his name Sir Roger de Coverley. His great-grandfather was inventor of that famous country-dance which is called after him. All who know that shire are very well acquainted with the parts and merits of Sir Roger. He is a gentleman that is very singular in his behaviour, but his singularities proceed from his good sense, and are contradictions to the manners of the world, only as he thinks the world is wrong. However, this humour creates him no enemies, for he does nothing with sourness or obstinacy; and his being unconfined to modes and forms, makes him but the readier and more capable to please and oblige all who know him. When he is in town he lives in Soho Square: it is said, he keeps himself a bachelor by reason he was crossed in love by a perverse beautiful widow of the next county to him. Before this disappointment, Sir Roger was what you call a fine gentleman, had often supped with my Lord Rochester and Sir George Etherege, fought a duel upon his first coming to town, and kicked Bully Dawson in a public coffee-house for calling him youngster. But being ill used by the above mentioned widow, he was very serious for a year and a half; and though, his temper being naturally jovial, he at last got over it, he grew careless of himself and never dressed afterwards; he continues to wear a coat and doublet of the same cut that were in fashion at the time of his repulse, which, in his merry humours, he tells us, has been in and out twelve times since he first wore it. He is now in his fifty-sixth year, cheerful, gay, and hearty, keeps a good house in both town and country; a great lover of mankind; but there is such a mirthful caste in his behaviour, that he is rather beloved than esteemed. His tenants grow rich, his servants look satisfied, all the young women profess to love him, and the young men are glad of his company: when he comes into a house he calls the servants by their names, and talks all the way upstairs to a visit.

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I have observed in several of my papers, that my friend Sir Roger, amidst all his good qualities, is something of a humorist; and that his virtues, as well as imperfections, are as it were tinged by a certain extravagance, which makes them particularly his, and distinguishes them from those of other men. This cast of mind, as it is generally very innocent in itself, so it renders his conversation highly agreeable, and more delightful than the same degree of sense and virtue would appear in their common and ordinary colours.

* * * * * * *

My worthy friend Sir Roger is one of those who is not only at peace within himself, but beloved and esteemed by all about him. He receives a suitable tribute for his universal benevolence to mankind, in the returns of affection and good will, which are paid him by everyone that lives within his neighbourhood.

ADDISON AND STEELE, *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers*, 18–20, 30–31, 89.

Irish Conviviality

From his earliest appearance in history the Celtic Irishman was preëminently hospitable and convivial; and the Saxons caught these contagious qualities as soon as they set foot upon Irish soil, and practised them to a fault. These gentry, as was natural to men in whose favor the laws were made and against whom they were scarcely operative, were a lawless class, overbearing, unused to contradiction in their domains at home and impatient of it abroad. Many of them, new to the duties and responsibilities of landed proprietors, which were most trying in Ireland even to the patient and experienced, came by royal grant suddenly to great estates. Sudden accession to great possessions could not fail to stimulate and give play to all the tendencies to recklessness and extravagance so marked in the Irish upper classes. As masters, though often indulgent, they were autocratic, irresponsible, reckless, and violent, ruling their estates literally as despots, binding and loosing as they chose. Eminent examples of the type just described were not wanting. A personal

acquaintance with a distinguished member of the class — Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal of Dunleckny, County Carlow — will be more to the purpose than an enumeration of the traits of the gentry. Mr. Bagenal is described with comic gusto in the pages of Froude, and in Mr. Daunt's *Eighty-Five Years of Irish History*. Mr. Daunt will present him: —

"Of manners elegant, fascinating, polished by extensive intercourse with the great world, of princely income, and of boundless hospitality, Mr. Bagenal possessed all the qualities and attributes calculated to procure him popularity with every class. A terrestrial paradise was Dunleckny for all lovers of good wine, good horses, good dogs, and good society. His stud was magnificent, and he had a large number of capital hunters at the service of visitors who were not provided with steeds of their own. He derived great delight from encouraging the young men who frequented his house to hunt, drink, and solve points of honor at twelve paces.

"Enthroned at Dunleckny, he gathered around him a host of spirits congenial to his own. He had a tender affection for pistols, a brace of which implements, loaded, were often placed before him on the dinner-table. After dinner the claret was produced in an unbroached cask; Bagenal's practice was to broach the cask with a bullet from one of his pistols, whilst he kept the other pistol *in terrorem* for any of the *convives* who should fail in doing ample justice to the wine.

"Nothing could be more impressive than the bland, fatherly, affectionate air with which the old gentleman used to impart to his junior guests the results of his own experience, and the moral lessons which should regulate their conduct through life.

"'In truth, my young friends, it behooves a youth entering the world to make a character for himself. Respect will only be accorded to character. A young man must show his proofs. I am not a quarrelsome person — I never was — I hate your mere duellist; but experience of the world tells me there are knotty points of which the only solution is the saw handle. Rest upon your pistols, my boys! Occasions will arise in which the use of them

is absolutely indispensable to character. A man, I repeat, must show his proofs — in this world courage will never be taken upon trust. I protest to Heaven, my dear young friends, I am advising you exactly as I should advise my own son.'

"And having thus discharged his conscience, he would look blandly around with the most patriarchal air imaginable.

"His practice accorded with his precept. Some pigs, the property of a gentleman who had recently settled near Dunleckny, strayed into an enclosure of *King* Bagenal's, and rooted up a flower knot. The incensed monarch ordered that the porcine trespassers should be shorn of their ears and tails; and he transmitted the severed appendages to the owner of the swine with an intimation that he, too, deserved to have his ears docked; and that only he had not got a tail, he (*King* Bagenal) would sever the caudal member from his dorsal extremity. 'Now,' quoth Bagenal, 'If he's a gentleman, he must burn powder after such a message as that.'

"Nor was he disappointed. A challenge was given by the owner of the pigs. Bagenal accepted it with alacrity, only stipulating that as he was old and feeble, being then in his seventy-ninth year, he should fight sitting in his arm chair; and that as his infirmities prevented early rising, the meeting should take place in the afternoon. 'Time was,' said the old man, with a sigh, 'that I would have risen before daylight to fight at sunrise, but we cannot do these things at seventy-eight. Well, Heaven's will be done.'

"They fought at twelve paces. Bagenal wounded his antagonist severely; the arm of the chair in which he sat was shattered, but he remained unhurt; and he ended the day with a glorious carouse, tapping the claret, we may presume, as usual, by firing a pistol at the cask.

"The traditions of Dunleckny allege that when Bagenal, in the course of his tour through Europe, visited the petty court of Mecklenburg Strelitz, the Grand Duke, charmed with his magnificence and the reputation of his wealth, made him an offer of the hand of the fair Charlotte, who, being politely rejected by King Bagenal, was afterwards accepted by King George III."

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The social life of Ireland centred in Dublin, and the social life of the smaller towns was cut as closely as possible after the same pattern. The years from 1782 to the end of the century were the palmy days of the Ireland of the Ascendency, the days of drink and debt, improvidence and extravagance. The Irish capital was tumultuous. Street brawls growing out of religious feuds were of frequent occurrence, some, by the number of combatants and their systematic conduct, more like pitched battles. In 1790 one of these conflicts occurred in which above a thousand men were engaged, a society of Protestant weavers and tailors pitting themselves against a band of Catholic butchers who advanced under a banner inscribed "V. B. Mary." The watchmen of the city gave up all hope of controlling the disturbance, and retired to a point of vantage, well out of reach of stick and stone, to enjoy the spectacle. The disturbance was formally reported to the Mayor, but he declined to interfere, on the ground that "it was as much as his life was worth to go among them." A curious fact in connection with these rows was the participation in them of young aristocrats — the bucks and beaux of Dublin, and the students of Trinity College, who could have no other motive than a liking for the sport on its own account. The Trinity boys, with their strong *esprit de corps*, were always a valuable acquisition to a faction, and with the great keys of their rooms slung in the tails of their gowns did splendid execution. A number of clubs, resembling the London Mohocks, contributed to the disorders of the city. Wild young fellows, often of the better sort, made up the membership. Notable among these were the Hell-Fire Club (perhaps the most notorious of all), the Hawkabites, Cherokees, Sweaters, Pinkindindies, and Chalkers. Each had its peculiar excuse for existing, and all had in common the purpose "to be sociable together," and, after dining, to pour tumultuously into the midnight streets, "flown with insolence and wine," and bent upon breaking the king's peace in one way or another. The specialty of the Sweaters was midnight raids upon the homes of Catholics on the pretext of searching for arms. The search for arms was the pretext; the real motive the pleasure of terrorizing the household. The Chalkers and

Pinkindindies made a specialty, as an act passed against the former in 1773 recites, of "mangling others, merely with the wanton and wicked intent to disable and disfigure them." Their operations were by way of rebuke to dunning or procrastinating tradesmen and the like, or to a barber, perhaps, who disappointed one of the members when his services were the condition of attendance at a dinner or ball. The Pinkindindies were ingeniously humane. Shrinking from inflicting upon their victims the slightest serious injury, they cut off the tips of the scabbards of their swords, and were thus enabled to prick them full of holes without fear of going beyond the bounds of a good practical joke.

The Dublin society of rank and fashion, the most brilliant that Ireland had to offer, was in full bloom just after the Irish Parliament regained its freedom. The removal at this time of commercial restrictions gave an impulse to prosperity, and better times seemed to be dawning. The Parliament met yearly, and for each season the members took up their abode in Dublin, composing a leading class. Two hundred and fifty of the peerage and three hundred of the House of Commons, with their families and connections, annually poured into town from their country seats. Among the peerage there was much wealth, taste, and cultivation, and the polish and elegance that travel and a wide intercourse with society in England and on the continent produced. A large proportion of the House of Commons were the true old gentry of the land, of the most hearty and festive type, overflowing with family pride, sociability, and a hospitality whose manifestations prudence was never permitted to check. In the wake of the gentry came many of the country class, with all their provincial and personal oddities and eccentricities, to give society a touch of distinctly local color.

The eighteenth century was everywhere a century of violence and hard drinking. In Dublin the violence found an outlet in disturbances like those alluded to above, in which the lower classes and some wild fellows of the better sort participated. But for the nobility and gentry duelling was the mania, and it was indulged in to an extent almost beyond belief. Sir Jonah Barrington, in his *Personal*

Sketches, vouches for two hundred and twenty-seven memorable and official duels fought in his time, and the author of *Ireland Sixty Years Ago* states that three hundred duels by men of note were fought between 1780 and 1800. Even the gravest persons settled their differences in single combat. Sir Jonah's remark, "I think I may challenge any country in Europe to show such an assemblage of gallant *judicial* and *official* antagonists at fire and sword," cannot be gainsaid. Scarcely a man on the bench or at the bar could be found who had not fought at least one duel.

H. S. KRANS, *Irish Life in Irish Fiction*, 2–6, 9–14.

Austere Character: Lycurgus

When he perceived that his more important institutions had taken root in the minds of his countrymen, that custom had rendered them familiar and easy, that his commonwealth was now grown up and able to go alone, . . . Lycurgus, viewing with joy and satisfaction the greatness and beauty of his political structure, now fairly at work and in motion, conceived the thought to make it immortal too . . . He called an extraordinary assembly of all the people, and told them that he now thought everything reasonably well established, both for the happiness and the virtue of the state; but that there was one thing still behind, of the greatest importance, which he thought not fit to impart until he had consulted the oracle; in the meantime, his desire was that they would observe the laws without any the least alteration until his return, and then he would do as the god should direct him. They all consented readily, and bade him hasten his journey; but, before he departed, he administered an oath to the two kings, the senate, and the whole commons, to abide by and maintain the established form of polity until Lycurgus should be come back. This done, he set out for Delphi, and, having sacrificed to Apollo, asked him whether the laws he had established were good, and sufficient for a people's happiness and virtue. The oracle answered that the laws were excellent, and that the people, while it observed them, should live in the height of renown. Lycur-

gus took the oracle in writing, and sent it over to Sparta; and, having sacrificed the second time to Apollo, and taken leave of his friends and his son, he resolved that the Spartans should not be released from the oath they had taken, and that he would of his own act, close his life where he was. He was now about that age in which life was still tolerable, and yet might be quitted without regret. Everything, moreover, about him was in a sufficiently prosperous condition. He, therefore, made an end of himself by a total abstinence from food; thinking it a statesman's duty to make his very death, if possible, an act of service to the state, and even in the end of his life to give some example of virtue and effect some useful purpose. He would, on the one hand, crown and consummate his own happiness by a death suitable to so honorable a life, and, on the other, would secure to his countrymen the enjoyment of the advantages he had spent his life in obtaining for them, since they had solemnly sworn the maintenance of his institutions until his return.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by A. H. CLOUGH, 41.

Austere Character: A New England Example

For the regulation of his domestic concerns, Mr. Weld prescribed to himself and his family, a fixed system of rules; which were invariably observed, and contributed not a little to the pleasantness and prosperity of his life. His children, labourers, and servants submitted to them with cheerfulness; and his house became the seat of absolute industry, peace, and good order. Breakfast was on the table precisely at six o'clock; dinner, at twelve; and supper, at six in the evening. After supper he neither made visits himself, nor permitted any of his family to make them.

His observation of the Sabbath was probably unexampled. When hired labourers were at work for him, however busy the season, even when his crops were exposed to destruction by rain, he dismissed them all so early on Saturday afternoon, as to enable them to reach their own homes before sunset: the time when he began the Sabbath. His cattle

were all fed; his cows milked; the vegetables for the ensuing day prepared; and his family summoned together; previously to this sacred period. Until nine o'clock he spent the evening with his household in reading, and prayer; and at this moment they uniformly retired to their beds. No room in his house was swept; no bed was made; nor was any act, except such as were acts of necessity and mercy in the strict sense, done; until sunset on the succeeding day; when in his opinion the Sabbath terminated.

Mr. Weld was naturally of a very ardent disposition. Yet so entirely had he acquired an ascendancy over his temper, that a censurable, or imprudent, act, is not known to have been done by him, nor an improper word uttered. To vice and licentiousness, in every form, he gave no indulgence, either in his conversation, or his public instructions. On the contrary, idleness, intemperance, profaneness, and all kinds of immoral conduct, were reproved by him with undeviating severity. His example in the practice of every virtue was such, as to create in all classes of men entire veneration for his character. It is doubted whether any person ever uttered a reproach against Mr. Weld.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. II. 22–23.

Rationally Conscientious Character: Joseph Priestley

If the man to perpetuate whose memory we have this day raised a statue had been asked on what part of his busy life's work he set the highest value, he would undoubtedly have pointed to his voluminous contributions to theology. In season and out of season, he was the steadfast champion of that hypothesis respecting the Divine nature which is termed Unitarianism by its friends and Socinianism by its foes. Regardless of odds, he was ready to do battle with all comers in that cause; and if no adversaries entered the lists, he would sally forth to seek them.

To this, his highest ideal of duty, Joseph Priestley sacrificed the vulgar prizes of life, which, assuredly, were within easy reach of a man of his singular energy and varied abilities. For this object, he put aside, as of secondary im-

portance, those scientific investigations which he loved so well, and in which he showed himself so competent to enlarge the boundaries of natural knowledge and to win fame. In this cause, he not only cheerfully suffered obloquy from the bigoted and the unthinking, and came within sight of martyrdom ; but bore with that which is much harder to be borne than all these, the unfeigned astonishment and hardly disguised contempt of a brilliant society, composed of men whose sympathy and esteem must have been most dear to him, and to whom it was simply incomprehensible that a philosopher should seriously occupy himself with any form of Christianity.

It appears to me that the man who, setting before himself such an ideal of life, acted up to it consistently, is worthy of the deepest respect, whatever opinion may be entertained as to the real value of the tenets which he so zealously propagated and defended.

But I am sure that I speak not only for myself, but for all this assemblage, when I say that our purpose to-day is to do honour, not to Priestley, the Unitarian divine, but to Priestley, the fearless defender of rational freedom in thought and in action : to Priestley, the philosophic thinker; to that Priestley who held a foremost place among "swift runners who hand over the lamp of life," and transmit from one generation to another the fire kindled, in the childhood of the world, at the Promethean altar of science.

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If we ask what is the deeper meaning of all these vast changes [from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries], I think there can be but one reply. They mean that reason has asserted and exercised her primacy over all provinces of human activity: that ecclesiastical authority has been relegated to its proper place ; that the good of the governed has been finally recognized as the end of government, and the complete responsibility of governors to the people as its means ; and that the dependence of natural phenomena in general, on the laws of action of what we call matter has become an axiom.

But it was to bring these things about, and to enforce the recognition of these truths, that Joseph Priestley laboured. If the nineteenth century is other and better than the eigh-

teenth, it is, in great measure, to him and to such men as he, that we owe the change. If the twentieth century is to be better than the nineteenth, it will be because there are among us men who walk in Priestley's footsteps.

Such men are not those whom their own generation delights to honour; such men, in fact, rarely trouble themselves about honour, but ask, in another spirit than Falstaff's, "What is honour? Who hath it? He that died o' Wednesday." But whether Priestley's lot be theirs, and a future generation, in justice and in gratitude, set up their statues; or whether their names and fame are blotted out from remembrance, their work will live as long as time endures. To all eternity, the sum of truth and right will have been increased by their means; to all eternity, falsehood and injustice will be the weaker because they have lived.

HUXLEY, *Science and Culture, Address on Joseph Priestley.*

American Character Types

In the United States these character types have been exhibited in a large way, with less of restraint upon their perfect expression and unfolding than anywhere else in the world.

The forceful man has been superbly developed in that pioneer life which has crept mile by mile across the continent, from the days of Daniel Boone to those of the ranchmen and the miners who have taken possession of the vast plains and the mountain camps. As the free wild life of those days becomes a memory only, the forceful man will yet survive in a thousand dangerous callings that demand nerve and forgetfulness of self; in the fisheries, the railroad service, the mining industries, and in the commerce of the lakes and of the sea.

The convivial character at its best, stripped of objectionable features, and displaying to advantage its most engaging ones, was developed on a large scale in the southern white population of the plantations before the Civil War. There was a hospitality, a beauty, and a graciousness of social life, which, unhappily, we are not likely to see

again in this land for many generations, if ever. The convivial character that is developing here to-day is of a far less engaging sort. It is that of the luxury-loving classes in the great cities, reckless in their expenditures of wealth and vulgar in its display. In the less well-to-do stratum it is that of a middle and working class public, fond of cheap theatres and concert halls, a public which will not soon be transformed by more refining influences.

After all it has been the austere character, shaped in New England and by New England puritanism, which has, on the whole, dominated American thought and morals. It has stood fearlessly, I am tempted to say relentlessly, for all the ten commandments, not excepting those referring to graven images and Sabbath observance. Its geographical distribution is along a well-marked zone extending from New England to Kansas. Throughout this northern belt of States it has continuously antagonized all amusements that are by the common consent of mankind demoralizing, and, until recently, it has been almost equally uncompromising in its opposition to the diversions of dancing, card playing, and the theatre.

The rationally conscientious type of character is the offspring of the austere, and no one can become familiar with the history of the liberal movement in theology and in politics, which has counted among its great leaders such men as Parker, Emerson, Channing, Dewey, Youmans, Fiske, and George William Curtis, without realizing that here in America, this splendid progeny of the austere character has not been devoid of influence upon our national life, even if its numbers have been relatively small.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Relative Extent of Each of the Four Types of Character. — In all nations, even the most civilized, the vast majority of individuals is distributed between the forceful and the convivial types. The austere type ranks next in point of numbers, and a very small proportion of the entire population can be classed as rationally conscientious.

Extent of Character Types: New York City Tenement Dwellers

Forty-six families may be classed as forceful and this type is represented in seventy-seven others. These are the people who are strenuous and daring. They are strong of body and rely chiefly upon their muscles, both for protection and for their livelihood. Their work is a struggle with soil, rock, iron, and wood in large quantities. They are cellar-diggers, hod-carriers, and rock-blasters. Many are engaged in dangerous occupations. Some are scaffolders, boatmen, railroad employees, and drivers. In such occupations men can hardly be classified as otherwise than forceful. In the case of other trades or occupations, such as painting, bricklaying, carpentry, plumbing, and washing, other evidence was taken into consideration. No family was classified merely by the occupation of its members. The majority of the washer-women were ranked as forceful characters because of their coarse, robust, and masculine ways, but some of them were of a very different type. The personal appearance, the manner of speech, the kind and arrangement of furniture, were carefully considered. Very important also were the pleasures indulged in. No topic was closer to the hearts of these people than the prize-fight. The children in many of the families could give the characteristic position of each of the great pugilists, and the rules were known even to the smallest detail. Horse-play was the delight of both parents and children.

The nationalities contributing to this type are chiefly the Irish, the German, and the Italian.

One hundred and seventy-five families may be classed as convivial, and the type is represented in thirty-five others. Here are to be found the tailors, furriers, pedlers, store-keepers, clerks, bakers, and tobacco-workers. By disposition those engaged in these trades prefer the less strenuous kinds of work and they are better adapted to them.

In this type are found those who in their love of ease live in dirty houses and are content with ragged clothes.

Others take pleasure in good things to eat and to drink. Their money is spent for luxuries of the table. Still others delight in fine clothes and well-furnished rooms. Their pleasures resemble their occupations. They appeal to the emotions. Theatre-going, dancing, table-games, gambling, novel-reading, calling, and gossiping are their chief means of amusement.

All nationalities are represented in this type, and especially the Jews. The occupations mentioned are filled largely by them and they will work at no others. As a rule they are not enthusiastic over athletics; their spare time is spent in calling upon one another, in parties and in dances.

Four families may be classed as austere, and the type is represented in nine others. One of the first four is a Jewish family still under the influence of religion. Its ideals are those of self-sacrifice. In labor all its members are diligent and persevering.

The other three families of the first four are composed of aged people driven to austerity by the hard circumstances of their lives. In their youth they may have been of a different type; but now, in the evening of life, their path is one of self-denial. Two of these three families are Catholics, who look upon their hard lot as so much of the "good works" necessary to obtain happiness hereafter. One family, an aged soldier and his wife, neglected by their children, impelled by their love for each other, have resolved to endure that they may not be separated in their old age. They belong to a Protestant church.

The rationally conscientious type is represented in eight families. With two others, they have already been described as belonging to the highest class in their appreciation of their environment.

JONES, *S. C. B.*, 80–82.

Types of Mind

Instinct, emotion, intellect, disposition, and character are not independent faculties, or separable one from another. They are differentiated manifestations of mind in its

totality. According to the kinds, qualities, and strengths of these manifestations, and their relative proportions, there appear Types of Mind in general.

Since mental phenomena present three general aspects, namely, motor, affective (or emotional), and intellective, we might naturally look for three types of mind, according as one or another phase of mentality predominates. Other considerations, however, suggest four types, corresponding to the commonly recognized four temperaments. A more scientific determination of types than either of the foregoing, is found in the six possible arrangements (in order of predominance and subordination) of the three fundamental modes of mental phenomena. Designating each of the three by a letter, namely, motor reactions by M, feeling (affection or emotion) by E, and the intellective aspect by I, we have the following six possibilities: —

M E I	E M I	I M E
M I E	E I M	I E M

Of these six arrangements, two, in which intellect holds the third place, namely, M E I and E M I, are found only among animals, human babies, and defectives. Among normal human adults, intellect moves forward to the second or the first place, and we have, therefore, four mental types of normal human beings of adult age, namely, M I E, E I M, I E M, and I M E. These four types may be called the Ideo-Motor, the Ideo-Emotional, the Dogmatic-Emotional, and the Critically-Intellectual.

Ideo-Motor. — In the individuals whose combination is M I E, a forceful character, an aggressive disposition, intellect of low grade, and strong emotion are combined with a prompt and persistent motor activity.

Ideo-Emotional. — In individuals whose combination is E I M, a convivial character, an instigative disposition, an imaginative intellect, prone to reason from analogy, a weak but persistent and usually good-natured emotion are combined with motor reactions that are usually intermittent and of less promptness than in the ideo-motor type.

Dogmatic-Emotional. — In individuals whose combination is I E M, an austere character and a domineering disposition are combined with dogmatism of belief, strong emotion, and intermittent activity.

Critically-Intellectual. — In individuals whose combination is I M E, all the emotional and motor processes are dominated by a critical intellect, and even disposition and character are intellectually controlled.

Relative Extent of Each of the Four Types of Mind. — An overwhelming majority of the American people is of the ideo-emotional and dogmatic-emotional types. The evidence in support of this assertion is found in the composition of the people by nationalities, in their religious preferences, and in their intellectual achievements. Thus a distribution of the population of the United States by nationalities into the four mental types above described, and three intermediate types, namely, ideo-motor to ideo-emotional, ideo-emotional to dogmatic-emotional, and dogmatic-emotional to critically-intellectual, in accordance with a predetermined method, has given the following percentages: Ideo-Motor, 2.9; Ideo-Motor to Ideo-Emotional, 8.1; Ideo-Emotional, 29.2; Ideo-Emotional to Dogmatic-Emotional, 33.5; Dogmatic-Emotional, 19.3; Dogmatic-Emotional to Critically-Intellectual, 6.3; Critically-Intellectual, 1.6. A distribution by religious preferences, in accordance with the same predetermined method, has

given the following percentages: Ideo-Motor to Ideo-Emotional, 7.6; Ideo-Emotional, 29.9; Ideo-Emotional to Dogmatic-Emotional, 35.8; Dogmatic-Emotional, 20.8; Dogmatic-Emotional to Critically-Intellectual, 6.1, a very close agreement with the distribution by nationalities. Finally, a distribution of 4,559 books, a year's output of American publishing houses, has given percentages as follows: Ideo-Emotional — books that aim to please, amuse, interest; appealing to imagination, emotion, sentiment, 52; Dogmatic-Emotional — books that aim to convert, influence, instruct; appealing to belief, self-interest, or ethical emotion, 40; Critically-Intellectual — books that aim to criticise, or to make positive inductive additions to knowledge; appealing only to critical reason, 8.[1]

Types of Mind: New York City Tenement Dwellers

Thirty-eight families [in Block X] are of the ideo-motor type, and so also are individual members of seventy-three other families. Most of these are Italian and Irish. They are engaged in the lower forms of physical labor, and their exhausting work leaves them little energy for emotional pleasures or for thought.

One hundred and seventy families are of the ideo-emotional type, and so also are individual members of thirty-three other families.

These families are highly imaginative and much given to nervous excitement and to pleasures of chance. Tears and laughter are equally near the surface. Feeling is easily aroused. Appeal to reason has little or no effect upon them. To reach this class at all it is necessary to mix the truth well with pathos or humor. The speaker who would be successful in addressing them must himself

[1] For the complete investigation here quoted, see Giddings, *A Provisional Distribution of the Population of United States into Psychological Classes*, *The Psychological Review*, Vol. VIII., No. 4, July, 1901.

show much feeling and make liberal use of shibboleths and symbols, which arouse the emotions of his particular audience.

That such a large majority in this tenement community should be of the emotional type is a fact that should be viewed seriously by all who are interested in the welfare of the social classes here represented. These are the families, together with those of the motor type, that make possible dangerous panics and frenzied mobs. This is the element that demagogues control for their own purposes. And this is the soil in which fakes of every kind, religious and others, take root and flourish.

To modify and develop this type into something higher is one of the all-important functions of our educational institutions. The power of the school is nowhere more clearly seen than in its effect upon an emotional community. Much of superstition is bound to give place before the enlightenment that the school creates. Common-sense and reason, awakened in the younger minds by the school, will at length begin to dominate.

Six families are of the dogmatic-emotional type, and so also are individual members of eighty-four other families. A majority of these families are Jews.

There are no families in Block X that can with certainty be classed as critically-intellectual.

JONES, *S. C. B.* 92–93.

Practical Differences and Resemblances

The objective differences and resemblances, consisting of diversities or similarities of mental acquisitions, ideas, beliefs, and modes of conduct, that may be observed in any social population may be classed as Cultural, Economic, Moral and Legal, and Political.

Cultural. — The cultural differences and resemblances presented by a social population include diversity or unity of language; degrees of literacy; peculiarities of manners, costumes, amusements, and arts; unity or

diversity of religious belief and worship, and disagreement or agreement in the mental attitude of the people toward scientific knowledge, investigation, and discovery.

Unity of Language: Greece

For the Helots as well as the Penestæ had their own common language and mutual sympathies, a separate residence, arms, and courage; to a certain extent, also, they possessed the means of acquiring property, since we are told that some of the Penestæ were richer than their masters.

GROTE, *History of Greece*, Vol. II. 279.

Literacy in Japan

Did the degree of illiteracy in a country bear a necessary relation to the difficulty encountered by its people in learning their alphabet, or syllabary, or hieroglyphs, or whatever vehicle they use for the written expression of their thought, then Japan should be the most illiterate country in the world, whereas it is safe to say that in that empire the ratio of illiteracy is scarcely greater than in Germany or New England. Except among the pariahs, it is a very rare thing to find, even in the lowest classes, a man or woman who cannot read and write, although the labor involved in these acquirements is ten, twenty, fifty times as great as that imposed upon the learner in any Western land. For every Japanese child in school, seven years, at least, is the time which must be devoted to the mere recognition of the characters employed in writing, and even then the list is by no means mastered. The little scholar at the end of that period is only able to recognize, possibly, a tenth of all the signs which are used. He is qualified, perhaps, to read the better class of newspapers which employ only a range of about four or five thousand characters. To know the entire list of nearly fifty thousand is the rare attainment of the lifelong student of literature, and it is as doubtful

whether any one has succeeded in gaining such a mastery, as it is whether there is any one in the West today who is familiar with every word in the Century Dictionary.

ARTHUR M. KNAPP, *Feudal and Modern Japan*, Vol. II. 23–25.

Diversity of Manners and Ceremony: Transylvania

Oats have been defined by Dr. Johnson as a grain serving to nourish horses in England and men in Scotland; and in spite of this contemptuous definition, its name, to us Caledonian born, must always awaken pleasant recollections of the porridge and bannocks of our childhood. It is, however, a new experience to find a country where this often unappreciated grain occupies a still prouder position, and where its name is associated with memories yet more pregnant and tender; for autumn, not spring, is the season of Saxon love, and oats, not myrtle, are here emblematic of courtship and betrothal.

In proportion as the waving surface of the green oat-fields begins to assume a golden tint, so also does curiosity awaken and gossip grow rife in the village. Well-informed people may have hinted before that such and such a youth had been seen more than once stepping in at the gate of the big red house in the long street, and more than one chatterer had been ready to identify the speckled carnations which on Sundays adorned the hat of some youthful Conrad or Thomas, as having been grown in the garden of a certain Anna or Maria; but after all these had been but mere conjectures, for nothing positive can be known as yet, and ill-natured people were apt to console themselves with the reflection that St. Catherine's Day was yet a long way off, and that "there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

But now the great day which is to dispel all doubt and put an end to conjecture is approaching — that day which will destroy so many illusions and fulfil so few; for now the sun has given the final touch to the ripening grain, and soon the golden sheaves are lying piled together on the clean-shorn stubble-field, only waiting to be carted away.

Then one evening when the sun is sinking low on the horizon, and no breath of air is there to lift the white powdery dust from off the hedge-rows, the sound of a drum is heard in the village street, and a voice proclaims aloud that "to-morrow the oats are to be fetched home."

Like wildfire the news has spread throughout the village; the cry is taken up and repeated with various intonations of hope, curiosity, anticipation, or triumph, "To-morrow the oats will be fetched."

A stranger probably fails to perceive anything particularly thrilling about this intelligence, having no reason to suppose the garnering of oats to be in any way more interesting than the carting of potatoes or wheat; and, no doubt, to the majority of land-owners the thought of to-morrow's work is chiefly connected with dry prosaic details, such as repairing the harness and oiling the cart-wheels. But there are others in the village on whom the announcement has had an electrifying effect, and for whom the words are synonymous with love and wedding-bells. Five or six of the young village swains, or maybe as many as eight or ten, spend that evening in a state of pleasurable bustle and excitement, busying themselves in cleaning and decking out the cart for the morrow, furbishing up the best harness, grooming the work-horses till their coats are made to shine like satin, and plaiting up their manes with bright-colored ribbons.

Early next morning the sound of harness-bells and the loud cracking of whips cause all curious folk to rush to their doors; and as every one is curious, the whole population is soon assembled in the street to gaze at the sight of young Hans N——, attired in his bravest clothes and wearing in his cap a monstrous bouquet, riding postilion fashion on the left-hand horse, and cracking his whip with ostentatious triumph, while behind, on the gayly decorated cart, is seated a blushing maiden, who lowers her eyes in confusion at thus seeing herself the object of general attention —at least this is what she is supposed to do, for every well-brought-up girl ought surely to blush and hang her head in graceful embarrassment when she first appears in the character of a bride; and although no formal proposal has yet taken place, by consenting to assist the young man

to bring in his oats she has virtually confessed her willingness to become his wife.

Her appearance on this occasion will doubtless cause much envy and disappointment among her less fortunate companions, who gaze out furtively through the chinks of the wooden boarding at the spectacle of a triumph they had perhaps hoped for themselves. "So it is the red-haired Susanna after all, and not the miller's Agnes, as every one made sure," the gossips are saying. "And who has young Martin got on his cart, I wonder? May I never spin flax again if it is not that saucy wench, the black-eyed Lisi, who was all but promised to small-pox Peter of the green corner house," — and so on, and so on, in endless variety, as the decorated carts go by in procession, each one giving rise to manifold remarks and comments, and not one of them failing to leave disappointment and heart-burning in its rear.

This custom of the maiden helping the young man to bring in his oats, and thereby signifying her willingness to marry him, is prevalent only in a certain district to the north of Transylvania called the *Haferland*, or country of oats — a broad expanse of country covered at harvest-time by a billowy sea of golden grain, the whole fortune of the land-owners. In other parts various other betrothal customs are prevalent, as for instance in Neppendorf, a large village close to Hermanstadt, inhabited partly by Saxons, partly by Austrians, or Ländlers, as they call themselves. This latter race is of far more recent introduction in the country than the Saxons, having only come hither (last century) in the time of Maria Theresa, who had summoned them to replenish some of the Saxon colonies in danger of becoming extinct. If it is strange to note how rigidly the Saxons have kept themselves from mingling with the surrounding Magyars and Roumanians, it is yet more curious to see how these two German races have existed side by side for over a hundred years without amalgamating; and this for no sort of antagonistic reason, for they live together in perfect harmony, attending the same church, and conforming to the same regulations, but each people preserving its own individual costume and customs. The Saxons and the Ländlers have each their different parts of the

church assigned to them; no Saxon woman would ever think of donning the fur cap of a Ländler matron, while as little would the latter exchange her tight-fitting fur coat for the wide hanging mantle worn by the other.

Until quite lately unions have very seldom taken place between members of these different races. Only within the last twenty years or so have some of the Saxon youths awoke to the consciousness that the Austrian girls make better and more active housewives than their own phlegmatic countrywomen, and have consequently sought them in marriage. Even then, when both parties are willing, many a projected union makes shipwreck upon the stiff-neckedness of the two *paterfamilias*, who neither of them will concede anything to the other. Thus, for instance, when the Saxon father of the bridegroom demands that his future daughter-in-law should adopt Saxon attire when she becomes the wife of his son, the Ländler father will probably take offence and withdraw his consent at the last moment; not a cap nor a jacket, not even a pin or an inch of ribbon, will either of the two concede to the wishes of the young people. Thus many hopeful alliances are nipped in the bud, and those which have been accomplished are almost invariably based on the understanding that each party retains its own attire, and that the daughters born of such union follow the mother, the sons the father, in the matter of costume.

Among the Ländlers the marriage proposal takes place in a way which deserves to be mentioned. The youth who has secretly cast his eye on the girl he fain would make his wife prepares a new silver thaler (about 2s. 6d.) by winding round it a piece of bright-colored ribbon, and wrapping the whole in a clean sheet of white letter-paper. With this coin in his pocket he repairs to the next village dance, and takes the opportunity of slipping it unobserved into the girl's hand while they are dancing. By no word or look does she betray any consciousness of his actions, and only when back at home she produces the gift, and acquaints her parents with what has taken place. A family council is then held as to the merits of the suitor and the expediency of accepting or rejecting the proposal. Should the latter be decided upon, the maiden must take an early

opportunity of intrusting the silver coin to a near relation of the young man, who in receiving it back is thereby informed that he has nothing further to hope in that direction; but if three days have elapsed without his thaler returning to him, he is entitled to regard this as encouragement, and may commence to visit in the house of his sweetheart on the footing of an official wooer.

In case of rejection, it is considered a point of honor on the part of all concerned that no word should betray the state of the case to the outer world — a delicate reticence one is surprised to meet with in these simple people.

This giving of the silver coin is probably a remnant of the old custom of "buying the bride," and in many villages it is customary still to talk of the *braut kaufen*.

In some places it is usual for the lad who is courting to adorn the window of his fair one with a flowering branch of hawthorn at Pentecost, and at Christmas to fasten a sprig of mistletoe or a fir-branch to the gable end of her house.

To return, however, to the land of oats, where, after the harvest has been successfully garnered, the bridegroom proceeds to make fast the matter, or, in other words, officially to demand the girl's hand of her parents.

It is not consistent with village etiquette that the bridegroom *in spe* should apply directly to the father of his intended, but he must depute some near relation or intimate friend to bring forward his request. The girl's parents, on their side, likewise appoint a representative to transmit the answer. These two ambassadors are called the *wortmacher* (word-makers) — sometimes also the *hochzeitsväter* (wedding-fathers). Much talking and speechifying are required correctly to transact a wedding from beginning to end, and a fluent and eloquent *wortmacher* is a much-prized individual.

Each village has its own set formulas for each of the like occasions — long-winded pompous speeches, rigorously adhered to, and admitting neither of alteration nor curtailment.

E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, 94–99.

American Cultural Unity

Nothing else is so serious a barrier to community of thought as a difference of language. This barrier will for generations prevent a universal coöperation of the peoples of Europe. Astonishing, indeed, by comparison is the unity of language in the United States. On the mainland of the United States in 1900 there were only 1,403,212 persons unable to speak English, and of these 86.7 per cent were foreign born whites, whose children with few exceptions will speak the language of the country of their adoption.

Next to differences of language, illiteracy and the ignorance which it generally implies is an obstacle to unity of thought and purpose. Here, again, as compared with all parts of the world except northwestern Europe, the people of the United States are relatively homogeneous. The whole number of illiterates found in 1900 on the mainland of the United States was only 6,180,069. Of these only 3,200,746 were whites, and only 1,913,611 were native born whites.

Next to ignorance, differences of religion have been a barrier to successful coöperation on a large scale, since history began. One of the chief efforts of every empire which has sought to create a moral solidarity among its subjects has been to establish by persuasion or by force a unity of religious belief. Two of the greatest powers of modern times, however, have for more than a century adhered to a policy of the widest toleration. One of these, the British Empire, is in the matter of religious belief the most heterogeneous aggregation of men in the world. Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, each faith numbered by millions, swear allegiance to the British crown. America, on the other hand, is practically a Christian population, the representation of non-Christian faiths in the United States being almost infinitesimal. The most radical differences of religious belief that we have, are represented by the division into Catholics, Protestants, and Mormons. Religious statistics were not taken in the census of 1900. The census of 1890 found a total of 20,612,806 communi-

cants or church members in the United States, of whom 6,231,417 were Roman Catholics.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Manners in America

Another question is more serious and less easily answered. What is the effect of social equality upon manners? Many causes go to the making of manners, as one may see by noting how much better they are in some parts of Europe than in other parts where nevertheless the structure of society is equally aristocratic, or democratic, as the case may be. One must therefore be careful not to ascribe to this source only such peculiarities as America shows. On the whole, bearing in mind that the English race has less than some other races of that quickness of perception and sympathy which goes far to make manners good, the Americans have gained more than they have lost by equality. I do not think that the upper class loses in grace, I am sure that the humbler class gains in independence. The manners of the "best people" are exactly those of England, with a thought more of consideration towards inferiors and of frankness towards equals. Among the masses, there is, generally speaking, as much real courtesy and good nature as anywhere else in the world. There is less outward politeness than in some parts of Europe, Portugal for instance, or Tuscany, or Sweden. There is a certain coolness or off-handness which at first annoys the European visitor, who still thinks himself "a superior"; but when he perceives that it is not meant for insolence, and that native Americans do not notice it, he learns to acquiesce. Perhaps the worst manners are those of persons drest in some rag of authority. The railroad car-conductor has a bad name; but personally I have always been well treated by him, and remember with pleasure one on a Southern railroad (an ex-Confederate soldier) who did the honours of his car with a dignified courtesy worthy of those Hungarian nobles who are said to have the best manners in Europe. The hotel clerk is supercilious, but if one frankly admits his superiority, his patronage becomes friendly, and he may even condescend to interest himself

in making your stay in the city agreeable. One finds most courtesy among the rural population of New England and the Middle States, least among the recent immigrants in the cities and the unsettled population of the West. However, the most material point to remark is the improvement in recent years. The concurrent testimony of European travellers, including both admirers and detractors of democracy, proves that manners must have been disagreeable forty years ago, and one finds nowadays an equally general admission that the Americans are as pleasant to one another and to strangers as are the French or the Germans or the English. The least agreeable feature to the visitors of former years, an incessant vaunting of their own country and disparagement of others, has disappeared, and the tinge of self-assertion which the sense of equality used to give is now but faintly noticeable.

BRYCE, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II. 609-610.

Local Types of Opinion in America

Both the general tendencies and the class tendencies in the development of public opinion which I have attempted to sketch, may be observed all over the vast area of the Union. Some, however, are more powerful in one region, others in another, while the local needs and feelings of each region tend to give a particular colour to its views and direction to its aims. One must therefore inquire into and endeavour to describe these local differences, so as, by duly allowing for them, to correct what has been stated generally with regard to the conditions under which opinion is formed, and the questions which evoke it.

In an earlier chapter I have classified the States into five groups, the Northeastern or New England States, the Middle States, the Northwestern States, the Southern States, and the States of the Pacific Slope. For the purpose of our present inquiry there is no material difference between the first two of these groups, but the differences between the others are significant.

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In the Eastern States the predominant influence is that of capitalists, manufacturers, merchants — in a word, of the commercial classes. The East finds the capital for great undertakings all over the country, particularly for the making of railroads, the stock of which is chiefly held by Eastern investors, and the presidents whereof often have their central office in New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, though the line may traverse the Western or Southern States. The East also conducts the gigantic trade with Europe. It ships the grain and the cattle, the pork and the petroleum, it finances the shipping of much of the cotton, it receives nearly all the manufactured goods that Europe sends, as well as the emigrants from Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia. The arms of its great bankers and merchants stretch over the whole Union, making those commercial influences which rule in their own seat potent everywhere. Eastern opinion is therefore the most quickly and delicately sensitive to financial movements and to European influences, as well as the most firmly bound to a pacific policy. As in the beginning of the century, trade interests made Massachusetts and Connecticut anxious to avoid a breach with England, to whose ports their vessels plied, so now, though the shipping which enters Eastern ports is chiefly European (English, Norwegian, German, French), the mercantile connections of American and European merchants and financiers are so close that an alarm of war might produce widespread disaster.

The East is also, being the oldest, the best educated and most intelligent quarter of the country. Not only does it contain more men of high culture, but the average of knowledge and thought (excluding the mob of the great cities and some backward districts in the hills of Pennsylvania) is higher than elsewhere. Its literary men and eminent teachers labour for the whole country, and its cities, which show the lowest element of the population in their rabble, show also the largest number of men of light and leading in all professions. Although very able newspapers are published in the West as well as in the East, still the tone of Eastern political discussion is more generally dignified and serious than in the rest of the Union. The influences of Europe, which, of course, play first and chiefly upon the

East, are, so far as they affect manners and morality, by no means an unmixed good. But in the realm of thought Europe and its criticism are a stimulative force, which corrects any undue appreciation of national virtues, and helps forward sound views in economics and history. The leisured and well-read class to be found in some Eastern cities is as cosmopolitan in tone as can be found anywhere in the world, yet has not lost the piquancy of its native soil. Its thought appropriates what is fresh and sound in the literature or scientific work of Germany, England, and France, more readily than any of those countries seems to learn from each of the others. These causes, added to the fact that the perversions of party government have been unusually gross among the irresponsible masses that crowd these very cities, has roused a more strenuous opposition to the so-called "machine" than in other parts of the country. The Eastern voter is less bound to his party, more accustomed to think for himself, and to look for light, when he feels his own knowledge defective, to capable publicists. When, either in Federal or State or city politics, an independent party arises, repudiating the bad nominations of one or both of the regular organizations, it is here that it finds its leaders and the greatest part of its support. There is also in New England a good deal left of the spirit of Puritanism, cold and keen as glacier air, with its high standard of public duty and private honour, its disposition to apply the maxims of religion to the conduct of life, its sense, particularly needed in this tender-hearted country, that there are times when Agag must be hewn in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal. If the people of New England, rural New York, and New Jersey had been left unpolluted by the turbid flood of foreign immigration, they would be the fittest of any in the world for a pure democratic government. Evils there would still be, as in all governments, but incomparably less grave than those which now tax the patriotism of the party which from these States holds up the banner of reform for the whole Union. . . . The most distinctive elements in the western States are the farming class, which here attains its greatest strength, and the masses of newly arrived Germans and Scandinavians.

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Western opinion dislikes theory, and holds the practical man to be the man who, while discerning keenly his own interest, discerns nothing else beyond the end of his nose. It goes heartily into a party fight, despising Independents, Mugwumps, and "bolters" of all sorts. It has boundless confidence in the future of the country, of the West in particular, of its own State above all, caring not much for what the East thinks, and still less for the judgment of Europe. . . . While things are as they are now, you cannot get the average Western man to listen to philosophical reasonings, or trouble himself about coming dangers. To arrest him you must touch his sentiment, and at this moment the questions whose solution presses are questions which sentiment goes no way to solve.

The West may be called the most distinctively American part of America, because the points in which it differs from the East are the points in which America as a whole differs from Europe. But the character of its population differs in different regions, according to the parts of the country from which the early settlers came. Now the settlers have generally moved along the parallels of latitude, and we have therefore the curious result that the characteristics of the older States have propagated themselves westward in parallel lines, so that he who travels from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains will find fewer differences to note than he who, starting from Texas, travels north to Manitoba. Thus northern Ohio was filled from New England and western New York, and in its turn colonized northern Illinois, Michigan, and much of the farther Northwest. Southern Ohio and Illinois, together with great part of Indiana, were peopled from Virginia and Kentucky.

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The Pacific Slope, as its inhabitants call it, geographically includes the State of Oregon, but Oregon resembles the Northwestern States in so many respects that she may better be classed with them. California and Nevada on the other hand are distinctly peculiar. They are more Western than the States I have just been describing, with the characteristics of those States intensified and some new features added.

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Along with the high spirit and self-confidence which belong to a ruling race, these Southern democrats have an enlargement of view and an aptitude for grasping decided and continuous lines of policy, in fact a turn for statesmanship as contrasted with mere politics, which is less common in the North, because it is less favoured by the conditions under which ambition has in the North to push its way. The Southern man who enters public life has a more assured position than his rival from a Northern State, because he represents the opinion of a united body who will stand by him, who regard him as their champion, and who expect from him less subservience to their instructions. He is less obliged to fear and court the breath of popular favour. He is not more educated or intelligent: he has certainly lived in a less stimulating atmosphere. But he has courage and a clear vision of his objects, the two gifts essential for a statesman; he feels a united popular impulse behind him which supplies a sort of second patriotism. Opinion in the Southern States before the war, in spite of the divisions between Democrats and Whigs, was generally bold, definite, and consistent, because based on few principles. It was the opinion of a small class who were largely occupied with public affairs. It has preserved this quality while losing its old fierceness and better recognizing the conditions under which it must work in a Federal republic.

BRYCE, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II. 268–274.

Economic. — The chief economic differences and resemblances discoverable in any social population are those of standard of living and of occupation.

The term standard of living has been used loosely by economic writers. The commodities that a labouring class consumes are not its standard of living, they are merely an index of its standard. Still less is mere desire a standard. The real standard of living is a certain conception of economic life, which regulates desire and controls conduct. It is constituted of traditional beliefs and new ideas in varying proportions, and changes as these factors change.

Roman Standards of Living

I write these things unto thee from Scipio Africanus' country house, where I am staying, and after having worshipped his departed spirit, and the chest in which, in my opinion, that hero is buried: the soul of him, indeed, I persuade myself, hath returned unto heaven, whence it was; not because he led great armies (for this also the furious Cambyses did, and profited by his fury), but for his great moderation and piety, more admirable in him when he left his country than when he defended it. Either Scipio must be deprived of Rome, or Rome of liberty. "Nothing," saith he, "will I derogate from laws, nothing from decrees. Amongst all citizens let there be an equal right. O my country, use the benefits I give you, but let me go. I have been the cause; I will also be the proof of your liberty, I depart, if I have waxed greater than is expedient for thee." How can I choose but admire this magnanimity? He departed unto voluntary banishment and relieved the city. The matter was brought unto that pass, that either liberty should do injury to Scipio, or Scipio to liberty. Neither was lawful. Therefore he gave place to the laws, and betook himself to his country house at Liturnum, as willing to give the Commonwealth the credit of his banishment as he had been to give that of Hannibal. I saw that same country house, builded of four-square stone, a wall compassing about a wood, towers also set under both sides of the house for purposes of defence; a cistern beneath the building and lawns, which was able to serve even an army of men; a little narrow, gloomy bath, as the old fashion was, — for nothing seemed warm to our fathers unless it were dark. Great pleasure entered into me, as I contrasted Scipio's manners and our own. In this little nook, that terror of Carthage, to whom Rome owes it that it was taken but once, would wash his body, wearied with work upon the farm; for hard work was his exercise, and he tilled the earth as our fathers used. It was under so mean a roof as this he stood; it was this mean floor that carried him. But now, who is he that would put up with such a bath as this? Poor and base seemeth a man to himself,

unless the walls shine with great and precious plaques; except Alexandrian marbles be distinguished amongst Numidian stucco; except there be laid all about upon them a curious varied plastering like a picture; except the chamber be covered over with glass; except Thasian stone, which once was a rare spectacle even in a temple, forms the lining for the very baths in which we repose our bodies after copious perspiration; except the taps which pour water upon us are silver. And as yet I speak of the wash-houses of the common people: what shall I say when I come to the baths of freedmen? What statues — what pillars holding nothing up, but placed for ornament's sake and for their cost — what water sliding down upon stairs with a great plash! To that delicacy are we come, that we will not tread but upon precious stones. In this bath of Scipio's there be tiny chinks, rather than windows, cut out in the stone wall, that without taking off from the strength of the place they should let in the light. But now they are called "mosquito baths," if any be not framed so as to receive the sun, with wide windows all day long, except they be bathed and fanned both at once, except from their hip-bath they can look out upon both land and sea. Those, therefore, which drew crowds and astonishment when they were opened, these are relegated into the ranks of the old-fashioned, when riot both devised some new thing, wherewith she outdoes even herself. But in old time there were few baths, and those not adorned with any trimming-up. For why should a trumpery thing be adorned whose end was use, and not delight? Water was not always being sprinkled about, neither always as from a warm fountain, did it run fresh and sparkling for them to wash off their grime. But, ye Gods! how it delighted me to enter into those very baths, dark though they were, and covered with ceiling of the common sort, which thou didst know that Cato, when he was overseer of public buildings, or else Fabius Maximus, or some of the Cornelii, tempered with their own hands. For this duty the most noble overseers of public buildings performed, namely, of going into those places which were designed for the people, and of exacting neatness and a profitable and healthy temperature, not such as has lately come into fashion, liker unto a burning alive,

so that a servant convicted of some wickedness should now be sentenced to be bathed alive. No difference now seemeth unto me whether the bath be scalding hot or be but warm. Of how great rusticity may some condemn Scipio, because into his warm bath he did not let in the day with large windows — because he used not to broil in a great deal of sunlight, and used to be actually afraid of boiling in his bath? Poor wretch! he knew not how to live. He actually was not washed in filtered, but very often in dirty water — nay, almost muddy, when there was heavy rain. Neither much cared he whether it was so or not; it was sweat and not ointment that he came to wash away. Canst thou imagine how people will talk? — I envy not Scipio; he lived in banishment, indeed, who had to bathe thus, and in truth, if thou wilt know it, he did not have even this bath every day; for, according to those who have handed down the old manners of the city, they washed every day their arms and legs, which were begrimed with dirt, but it was only once in nine days that they washed all over. In this place, some one will say, it is apparent that they were most unclean. What must they have smelt of? of war, of labour, of heroism. After that clean baths are furnished there be more filthy men. Horace having to describe an infamous man, and one notorious for too many delights, what sayeth he?

"Of pomander doth Rufillus smell."

Thou wouldst give place to Rufillus now, as if he smelt like a goat, and as Gargonius did, to whom Horace hath opposed Rufillus. It is too little to take an ointment upon thee except it be renewed twice or thrice in a day, lest it should vanish from the body. They boast of a perfume as if it were their own. If these things seem so sad unto thee, thou shalt impute it to the villa wherein I am.

SENECA, *Letters*, translated by THOMAS LODGE.

Standards of Comfort: North and South before the Civil War.

I think that the error which prevails in the South, with regard to the general condition of our working people, is

much strengthened by the fact that a different standard of comfort is used by most persons at the South from that known at the North, and that used by northern writers. People at the South are content and happy with a condition which few accept at the North unless with great complaint, or with expressions of resignation such as are the peculiar property of slaves at the South. If, reader, you had been travelling all day through a country of the highest agricultural capability, settled more than twenty years ago, and toward nightfall should be advised by a considerate stranger to ride five miles further, in order to reach the residence of Mr. Brown, because Mr. Brown, being a well-to-do man, and a right good fellow, had built an uncommonly good house, and got it well furnished, had a score of servants, and being at a distance from neighbors, was always glad to entertain a respectable stranger — after hearing this, as you continued your ride somewhat impatiently in the evening chill, what consolations would your imagination find in the prospect before you? My New England and New York experience would not forbid the hope of a private room, where I could, in the first place, wash off the dust of the road, and make some change of clothing before being admitted to a family apartment. This family room would be curtained and carpeted, and glowing softly with the light of sperm candles or a shaded lamp. When I entered it, I could expect that a couch or an arm-chair, and a fragrant cup of tea, with refined sugar, and wholesome bread of wheaten flour, leavened, would be offered me. I should think it likely that I should then have a snatch of Tannhäuser or Trovatore, which had been running faintly in my head all day, fingered clearly out to my entire satisfaction upon a piano-forte. I should then look with perfect confidence to being able to refer to Shakespeare, or Longfellow, or Dickens, if anything I had seen or thought during the day had haply led me to wish to do so. I should expect, as a matter of course, a clean, sweet bed, where I could sleep alone and undisturbed, until possibly in the morning a jug of hot water should be placed at my door, to aid the removal of a traveller's rigid beard. I should

expect to draw a curtain from before the window, to lift the sash without effort, to look into a garden, and fill my lungs with fragrant air; and I should be certain when I came down of a royal breakfast. A man of these circumstances in this rich country, he will be asking my opinion of his fruits. A man of his disposition cannot exist in the country without ladies, and ladies cannot exist in the country without flowers; and might I not hope for the refinement which decks even the table with them? and that the breakfast would be a meal as well as a feed — an institution of mental and moral sustenance as well as of palatable nourishment to the body? My horse I need hardly look after if he be a sound brute; — good stables, litter, oats, hay, and water, grooming, and discretion in their use, will never be wanting in such a man's house in the country.

In what civilized region, after such advice, would such thoughts be preposterous, unless in the slave States? Not but that such men and such houses, such families and home comforts may be found in the South. I have found them — a dozen of them, delightful homes. But then in a hundred cases where I received such advice, and heard houses and men so described, I did not find one of the things imagined above, nor anything ranging with them. Between the Mississippi and the upper James River, I saw not only none of those things, received none of those attentions, but I saw and met nothing of the kind. Nine times out of ten at least, after such a promise, I slept in a room with others, in a bed which stank, supplied with but one sheet, if with any; I washed with utensils common to the whole household; I found no garden, no flowers, no fruit, no tea, no cream, no sugar, no bread; (for corn pone, let me assert, in parenthesis, though possibly, as tastes differ, a very good thing of its kind for ostriches, is not bread: neither does even flour, salt, fat, and water, stirred together and warmed, constitute bread;) no curtains, no lifting windows (three times out of four absolutely no windows), no couch — if one reclined in the family room it was on the bare floor — for there were no carpets or mats. For all that the house swarmed with vermin. There was

no hay, no straw, no oats (but mouldy corn and leaves of maize), no discretion, no care, no honesty at the — there was no stable, but a log-pen; and besides this, no other out-house but a smoke-house, a corn-house, and a range of nigger-houses. . . . From the banks of the Mississippi to the banks of the James, I did not (that I remember) see, except perhaps in one or two towns, a thermometer, nor a book of Shakespeare, nor a pianoforte or sheet of music; nor the light of a carcel or other good centre-table or reading-lamp, nor an engraving, or a copy of any kind, of a work of art of the slightest merit.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, *A Journey in the Back Country*, 392–397.

Sclav and Saxon Standards in the Coal Regions

A study of the day-book of stores, where Anglo-Saxons and Sclavs deal, reveals very clearly the difference in their standards of living. A greater variety of articles are consumed by the former than by the latter. A store-keeper said, if the bill of a Sclav goes up to $10 a month for groceries, it is high; the bill of the average English-speaking family goes up to $20 and to $25. By a computation made, in one of the company stores in Schuylkill County, of the purchases of 12 English-speaking and 12 Sclav families for one year, we found the per capita expenditure of the former to be $5.48 and of the latter $2.86 per month. In the account of the Sclavs we found the following items: flour, barley, salt pork, potatoes, cabbage, pickles (barrel), garlic, coffee and coffee essence, sardines (5 cans for 25 cents), eggs, and very sparingly butter, cheese, and sugar. In the list of Anglo-Saxons there were flour, ham, onions, potatoes, cabbages, pickles (bottled), coffee, tea, eggs, lard, dried beef, spices, cakes, crackers, mackerel, canned tomatoes, canned peaches, canned apricots, canned cherries, soap, rubbers, brooms, lemons, salmon, and large quantities of butter, cheese, and sugar. A perusal of the contents of these books clearly showed that the felt want of the "white men" was far larger than that of the "foreigners." The dawn of luxury, however, was

visible in some of the Sclav accounts. It appeared in the purchase of cheap prunes, mixed jams (5 pounds for 25 cents), and a brand of apple-butter (3 pounds for 10 cents). These luxuries would go a long way. Observing merchants say that a Sclav family will live on half what is thought to be necessary for the maintenance of an equal number in an English-speaking family.

Of course, there are exceptions. We knew an Anglo-Saxon who divided a herring for two meals, thinking it luxury to eat the whole of it at once. No Sclav can surpass that save the fellows who make a meal on bread alone. Among the English-speaking of these coal fields, the Germans have the credit of practicing greatest economy in the home. As above stated the contents of the tables of 50 per cent of mine employees reflect the condition of the mining industry. A wag said, as he smelt the stench of smoked herrings in a patch: "It's poor times; when times are good you'll smell beefsteak and onions." He spoke the truth. When the pinch comes, the table feels it even sooner than dress or social amusements. Vanity, even in civilized people, is stronger than appetite. Many a girl goes ungrudgingly to the table to satisfy her hunger with bread and pickles if only she can get that waist made for the party. Many a family also, which struggles to meet its dues in a building and loan association, will spend less on the table than those who have their homes paid for. It is wonderful how some will stint themselves for the sake of a house. It is pathetic to hear a father on his dying bed saying: "How foolish, why did we pinch ourselves so?"

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We have seen the great variation in the standard of living between the Sclav and the Anglo-Saxon. The peoples of Southern Europe come here with their traditional customs and usages. They cling to them with great tenacity, but it would be a mistake to suppose that they are not influenced by the nations around them. The Sclav, notwithstanding he is behind the Anglo-Saxon in civilization, is not so far removed that he does not feel the influence of the law of social capillarity. Walter Bagehot said that "the experience of the English in India shows that a highly civilized race may fail in producing a rapidly excel-

lent effect on a less civilized race, because it is too good and too different. The higher being is not and cannot be a model for the lower; he could not mould himself on it if he would, and would not if he could. But in early society there were no such great differences, and the rather superior conqueror must have easily improved the rather inferior conquered." The relation between the various nationalities in these coal fields is best represented by that existing among men in the early stage of the world's civilization. They act and react upon each other, and the Sclavs gradually feel the effect of new ideas in a new environment.

PETER ROBERTS, *The Anthracite Coal Communities*, 106–107, 111.

American Occupations

In occupation the American people has been undergoing continual differentiation for a century, but especially since the Civil War. Of 29,074,117 persons engaged in gainful occupations on the mainland of the United States in 1900, 10,381,765, or 35.7 per cent were engaged in agricultural pursuits; 7,085,992, or 24.4 per cent were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 4,778,233, or 16.3 per cent were employed in trade and transportation; 1,264,737, or 4.3 per cent were occupied in professional services; and 5,691,746, or 19.4 per cent were employed in domestic and personal services. Here, obviously, we have great differences of interest, and varied points of view, of all questions of practical policy.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Moral and Legal. — The practical differences and resemblances that may be classed under the categories moral and legal include peculiarities of conduct, or standards of conduct, variety or uniformity in the common law and in statute law, variety or uniformity in legal procedure, and in methods of proof. In all civilized countries, proof by objective evidence has been substituted for proof by ordeals and compurgations. But the oath, a relic of the appeal to

heaven, survives, and here and there in ignorant sections informal or extra-legal proceedings against suspected persons still closely approximate the methods of ordeal and compurgation.

Diversity of Laws in America

The want of uniformity in private law and methods of administration is an evil which different minds will judge by different standards. Some may think it a positive benefit to secure a variety which is interesting in itself and makes possible the trying of experiments from which the whole country may profit. Is variety within a country more a gain or a loss? Diversity in coinage, in weights and measures, in the rules regarding bills and checks and banking and commerce generally, is obviously inconvenient. Diversity in dress, in food, in the habits and usages of society, is almost as obviously a thing to rejoice over, because it diminishes the terrible monotony of life. Diversity in religious opinion and worship excited horror in the Middle Ages, but now passes unnoticed unless where accompanied by intolerance. In the United States the possible diversity of laws is immense. Each State can play whatever tricks it pleases with the law of family relations, of inheritance, of contracts, of torts, of crimes. But the actual diversity is not great, for all the States, save Louisiana, have taken the English common and statute law of 1776 as their point of departure, and have adhered to its main principles. A more complete uniformity as regards marriage and divorce might be desirable, for it is particularly awkward not to know whether you are married or not, nor whether you have been or can be divorced or not; and several States have tried bold experiments in divorce laws. But, on the whole, far less inconvenience than could have been expected seems to be caused by the varying laws of different States, partly because commercial law is the department in which the diversity is smallest, partly because American practitioners and judges have become expert in applying the rules for determining which

law, where those of different States are in question, ought to be deemed to govern a given case.

BRYCE, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I. 337–338.

Political. — The political differences and resemblances to be found in a social population include diversities and identities of political sympathy on questions of local, class, or other interest, and the differences and identities that are associated with a differentiation of the population into political ranks, if such exist.

Political Unity in America

Everybody knows that it was the Federal system and the doctrine of State sovereignty grounded thereon, and not expressly excluded, though certainly not recognized, by the Constitution, which led to the secession of 1861, and which gave European powers a plausible ground for recognizing the insurgent minority as belligerents. Nothing seems now less probable than another secession, not merely because the supposed legal basis for it has been abandoned, and because the advantages of continued union are more obvious than ever before, but because the precedent of the victory won by the North will discourage like attempts in the future. This is so strongly felt that it has not even been thought worth while to add to the Constitution an amendment negativing the right to secede. The doctrine of the legal indestructibility of the Union is now well established. To establish it, however, cost thousands of millions of dollars and the lives of a million of men.

The combination of States into groups was a familiar feature of politics before the war. South Carolina and the Gulf States constituted one such, and the most energetic, group; the New England States frequently acted as another, especially during the war of 1812. At present, though there are several sets of States whose common interests lead their representatives in Congress to act together, it is no longer the fashion for States to combine in an official way through their State organizations, and

their doing so would excite reprehension. It is easier, safer, and more effective to act through the great national parties. Any considerable State interest (such as that of the silver-miners or cattlemen, or Protectionist manufacturers) can generally compel a party to conciliate it by threatening to forsake the party if neglected. Political action runs less in State channels than it did formerly, and the only really threatening form which the combined action of States could take, that of using for a common disloyal purpose State revenues and the machinery of State governments, has become, since the failure of secession, most improbable.

BRYCE, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I. 336–337.

American Party Solidarity

Since the organization of the Whig and Democratic parties an overwhelming majority of the voting population of the United States has been divided between two great political organizations of national extent. The total vote for Mr. Bryan in 1896 of 6,502,925, and for Mr. McKinley of 7,106,779, and of less than 1,000,000 for all other candidates, is fairly indicative of the normal tendency of voters in this country to array themselves in two leading organizations. This fact, however, does not indicate any tendency toward political disintegration. Quite the contrary, for in every campaign the minds of voters North and South, East and West, and of the most diverse local interests and prejudices are centred on the same issues. Important as party spirit is, there is from first to last an underlying consciousness of a common country and of policies which are of interest to the entire population.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Political Ranks in Germany, 1803

Society here is divided into Noblesse and Bourgeois. The first consists of some noble families from various parts of Germany, who have chosen Frankfort for their residence, and a few original citizens of Frankfort, but who

have now obtained the rank of nobility. The citizens who connect themselves with strangers, have made their fortunes by commerce, which some of them still follow.

There is a public assembly for the nobility once a week, at which they drink tea, converse, or play at cards from six to ten. On the other nights the same company meet alternately at each other's houses, and pass the evening in the same manner. None of the Bourgeois families are invited to these parties; but they have assemblies of the same kind among themselves, and often entertain their friends, and the strangers with whom they are acquainted, in a very hospitable manner at their tables. The noblemen who reside in Frankfort, and the nobility of all degrees, and of every nation, who accidentally pass through it, cheerfully accept of these invitations to dine with the citizens, but none of the German ladies of quality condescend so far. While their fathers, husbands, and brothers, are entertained at a Bourgeois table, they choose rather to dine at home by themselves; and they certainly judge wisely, if they prefer a spare diet to good cheer.

The distinction of ranks is observed in Germany, with all the scrupulous precision that a matter of that importance deserves. There is a public concert in this place supported by subscription. One would imagine that the subscribers would take their seats as they entered the room, that those who came earliest would have their choice. — No such matter. — The two first rows are kept for the ladies of quality, and the wives and daughters of the citizens must be contented to sit behind, let them come at what hour, and pay what money they please. — After all, this is not so bad as in an assembly of nobility, where commons are not permitted to sit, even in the lobby, whatever price they may have paid for their seat in parliament.

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Some of the nobility who reside in this city, take every opportunity of pointing out the essential difference that there is, and the distinctions that ought to be made, between their families and those of the Bourgeois; who, though they have, by commerce, or some profession equally ignoble, attained great wealth, which enables them to live in a style of magnificence unbecoming their rank; yet their noble

neighbours insinuate, that they always retain a vulgarity of sentiment and manners, unknown to those whose blood has flowed pure through several generations, unmixed with that puddle which stagnates in the veins of plebeians.

JOHN MOORE, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany*, Vol. I. 361–364, 371.

Degree of Practical Resemblance. — From the statistics of languages spoken, literacy, religious preferences, occupations, and political preferences, a rough measure of the degree of practical resemblance in the community may be obtained. If seventy-five per cent or more of the population speak the same language, can read and write (or are illiterate), are of one religious faith, follow the same occupation or class of occupations, and belong to one political party, the degree of practical resemblance may be designated very great. If fifty to seventy-five per cent of the population are in the foregoing respects alike, the degree of practical resemblance may be designated great. If the agreements do not embrace more than twenty-five to fifty per cent of the population, the degree of practical resemblance should be called small; and if they embrace less than twenty-five per cent, the degree is very small.

So measured, the degree of practical resemblance of the population of the United States is very great in respect of language and literacy, great in respect of religious belief, if we regard only the broad distinction of Christian and other religions, great in political sympathy, and small in respect of occupation.

Leaders and Followers

The extent to which a population is differentiated into leaders and followers can be determined only inexactly, by

observation, assisted but little by statistics. Some statistical material, however, is available. Thus it is possible to learn how many individuals occupy positions of administrative responsibility in religion, education, business, and politics.

There are few communities in which some differentiation is not to be found; in most communities it is a dominating social fact, and one which very deeply impresses both the imagination and the "common sense" of mankind. The exploits of leaders and heroes have been the chief theme of legend and epic, and until very modern times, the chief theme of the historian.

Agamemnon

And as the many tribes of feathered birds, wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans, on the Asian mead by Kaystrios' stream, fly hither and thither joying in their plumage, and with loud cries settle ever onwards, and the mead resounds; even so poured forth the many tribes of warriors from ships and huts into the Skamandrian plain. And the earth echoed terribly beneath the tread of men and horses. So stood they in the flowery Skamandrian plain, unnumbered as are leaves and flowers in their season. Even as the many tribes of thick flies that hover about a herdsman's steading in the spring season, when milk drencheth the pails, even in like number stood the flowing-haired Achaians upon the plain in face of the Trojans, eager to rend them asunder. And even as the goatherds easily divide the ranging flocks of goats when they mingle in the pasture, so did their captains marshal them on this side and on that, to enter into the fray, and in their midst lord Agamemnon, his head and eyes like unto Zeus whose joy is the thunder, and his waist like unto Ares and his breast unto Poseidon. Even as a bull standeth out far foremost amid the herd, for he is preëminent amid the pasturing kine, even such did Zeus make Atreides on that day, preëminent among many and chief amid heroes.

HOMER, *The Iliad*, translated by LANG, LEAF, and MYERS, 35-36.

Pericles

But when Aristides was now dead, and Themistocles driven out, and Cimon was for the most part kept abroad by the expeditions he made in parts out of Greece, Pericles, seeing things in this posture, now advanced and took his side, not with the rich and few, but with the many and poor, contrary to his natural bent, which was far from democratical; but, most likely fearing he might fall under suspicion of aiming at arbitrary power, and seeing Cimon on the side of the áristocracy, and much beloved by the better and more distinguished people, he joined the party of the people, with a view at once both to secure himself and procure means against Cimon.

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At the first, as has been said, when he set himself against Cimon's great authority, he did caress the people. Finding himself come short of his competitor in wealth and money, by which advantages the other was enabled to take care of the poor, inviting every day some one or other of the citizens that was in want to supper, and bestowing clothes on the aged people, and breaking down the hedges and enclosures of his grounds, that all that would might freely gather what fruit they pleased, Pericles, thus outdone in popular arts, by the advice of one Damonides of Œa, as Aristotle states, turned to the distribution of the public moneys: and in a short time having brought the people over, what with moneys allowed for shows and for service on juries, and what with other forms of pay and largess, he made use of them against the Council of Areopagus, of which he himself was no member, as having never been appointed by lot either chief archon, or lawgiver, or king, or captain. For from of old these offices were conferred on persons by lot, and they who had acquitted themselves duly in the discharge of them were advanced to the Court of Areopagus. And so Pericles, having secured his power and interest with the populace, directed the exertions of his party against this council with such success, that most of those causes and matters which had been used to be tried there, were, by the agency of

Ephialtes, removed from its cognizance; Cimon, also, was banished by ostracism as a favorer of the Lacedæmonians and a hater of the people, though in wealth and noble birth he was among the first, and had won several most glorious victories over the barbarians, and had filled the city with money and spoils of war; as is recorded in the history of his life. So vast an authority had Pericles obtained among the people.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by A. H. CLOUGH, 109–110.

Total Resemblance

Any quality of instinct, emotion, intellect, character, or practical action may be a point of resemblance between one individual and another.

The total number of points of resemblance in any given case may be called the total resemblance.

Degrees of Total Resemblance. — Accordingly, total resemblance may be of greater or less degree, varying with the number of points of resemblance.

Usually the degree of mental and practical resemblance may be observed to correspond to the degree of kinship.

As a rule the mental and practical resemblance of individuals of the same nationality is greater than the mental and practical resemblance of individuals of different nationalities but of the same ethnic race; as a rule the mental and practical resemblance of individuals of the same ethnic race is greater than the mental and practical resemblance of individuals of different ethnic races, but of the same glottic race, and so on.

Total mental and practical resemblance may, however, vary irrespective of degrees of kinship.

Two individuals of different nationalities, or even of different races, may more closely resemble each other in mind

and activity than do two other individuals of the same nationality.

A potential mental and practical resemblance also, or the capacity of two or more minds to become alike, has to be recognized.

Causes Determining Type of Mind and Degree of Total Resemblance

The causes that in any social population determine the relative extent of the different types of mind and the degree of total resemblance may be distinguished as proximate and ultimate.

Proximate Causes. — The proximate causes obviously are to be found in the character and extent of the common stimulation and of the inter-stimulation and response. Already (page 177) we have observed that stimuli may on the whole be productive of ideo-motor, ideo-emotional, dogmatic-emotional, or critically-intellectual activities of mind. They therefore are creative of the corresponding types of mind. The same thing is true of the whole process of inter-stimulation and response.

The greater the extent of the common stimulation, and the more extended, continuous, and complicated the inter-stimulation, the higher the degree of total resemblance.

Ultimate Causes. — The ultimate causes of mental types and total resemblance lie (1) in the demotic composition and amalgamation, and (2) in the character of the material environment of land and climate.

The more heterogeneous a population — the more varied its demotic composition, the more varied, other things being equal, will be the mental and the moral types, and the less the total resemblance.

Besides this direct correlation of types and of resemblance with the demotic heterogeneity or homogeneity, there is also a direct correlation of mental and practical resemblance with the types of environment, just as there is between demotic composition and environment. To determine the closeness of this correlation is one of the important problems of inductive sociology; indeed, it was almost the first one to be treated of in modern sociological writing, having been the fundamental theme of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix*.

The inhabitants of regions poor in resources, whether isolated or accessible, are usually homogeneous in mental and practical qualities, as in blood. They have been subjected to like experiences, and have developed like qualities of nature, and like habits of thought and conduct.

The inhabitants of a region rich in resources but isolated, while homogeneous in blood, exhibit considerable differences of energy and ability, of promptness and persistency of response, and therefore are differentiated into leaders and followers. This is because a high birth-rate and a relatively dense population intensify the struggle for existence, and sharpen the distinctions made by natural selection.

Among the inhabitants of the region that is rich in resources and accessible, every variety of mental and practical difference is found, yet usually the mental heterogeneity is less than the ethnic. Men of different bloods may have minds and interests alike. Assimilation, which is purely a psychological process, may go on faster than amalgamation — the physical commingling of bloods.

Finally, there is undoubtedly a direct relation of both land and climate to instinct, to feeling, and to intelligence.

Mental Effects of Physical Conditions

It has long been observed that the southern peoples of the northern hemisphere are more excitable and impulsive, in both individual and social activity, than are the people of colder northern climes. To what extent this is due to temperature merely, we do not yet know. It is, however, certain that excessive temperature is a real factor in emotional conduct.

Rapid alternations of heat and cold, and especially swift transitions from winter to summer, and from summer to winter, combined with a dull monotony of surface, as on the steppes of Russia or the vast plains of America, strongly predispose a population to a moody emotionalism. An equable climate, combined with a varied and interesting topography, as in ancient Greece and in modern England, predisposes a population to intellectual activity and to a control of emotionalism by thought.

In lands where earthquakes, famines, and pestilences are most frequent, the habitual state of fear represses a cool, critical intellectual activity, and stimulates imagination and emotion. These are the states of mind that most powerfully contribute to sympathetic like-mindedness and impulsive social action.

GIDDINGS, *Inductive Sociology*, 140–141.

Relation of Climate to Emotion and Type of Mind

Cold air constringes the extremities of the external fibres of the body; this increases their elasticity, and favours the return of the blood from the extreme parts to the heart. It contracts those very fibres; consequently it increases also their force. On the contrary, warm air relaxes and lengthens the extremes of the fibres; of course it diminishes their force and elasticity.

People are therefore more vigorous in cold climates. Here the action of the heart and the reaction of the extremities of the fibres are better performed, the temperature of the humours is greater, the blood moves more freely towards the heart, and reciprocally the heart has more power. This superiority of strength must produce

various effects; for instance, a greater boldness, that is, more courage; a greater sense of superiority, that is, less desire of revenge; a greater opinion of security, that is, more frankness, less suspicion, policy, and cunning. In short, this must be productive of very different tempers. Put a man into a close, warm place, and for the reasons above given he will feel a great faintness. If under this circumstance you propose a bold enterprise to him, I believe you will find him very little disposed towards it; his present weakness will throw him into despondency; he will be afraid of everything, being in a state of total incapacity. The inhabitants of warm countries are, like old men, timorous; the people in cold countries are, like young men, brave. If we reflect on the late wars, which are more recent in our memory, and in which we can better distinguish some particular effects that escape us at a greater distance of time, we shall find that the northern people, transplanted into southern regions, did not perform such exploits as their countrymen, who, fighting in their own climate, possessed their full vigour and courage.

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In cold countries they have very little sensibility for pleasure; in temperate countries, they have more; in warm countries, their sensibility is exquisite. As climates are distinguished by degrees of latitude, we might distinguish them also in some measure by those of sensibility. I have been at the opera in England and in Italy, where I have seen the same pieces and the same performers: and yet the same music produces such different effects on the two nations: one is so cold and phlegmatic, and the other so lively and enraptured, that it seems almost inconceivable.

It is the same with regard to pain, which is excited by the laceration of some fibre of the body. The Author of nature has made it an established rule that this pain should be more acute in proportion as the laceration is greater: now it is evident that the large bodies and coarse fibres of the people of the north are less capable of laceration than the delicate fibres of the inhabitants of warm countries; consequently the soul is there less sensible of pain. You must flay a Muscovite alive to make him feel.

From this delicacy of organs peculiar to warm climates

it follows that the soul is most sensibly moved by whatever relates to the union of the two sexes: here everything leads to this object.

In northern climates scarcely has the animal part of love a power of making itself felt. In temperate climates, love, attended by a thousand appendages, endeavours to please by things that have at first the appearance, though not the reality, of this passion. In warmer climates it is liked for its own sake, it is the only cause of happiness, it is life itself.

In southern countries a machine of a delicate frame but strong sensibility resigns itself either to a love which rises and is incessantly laid in a seraglio, or to a passion which leaves women in a greater independence, and is consequently exposed to a thousand inquietudes. In northern regions a machine robust and heavy finds pleasure in whatever is apt to throw the spirits into motion, such as hunting, travelling, war, and wine. If we travel towards the north, we meet with people who have few vices, many virtues, and a great share of frankness and sincerity. If we draw near the south, we fancy ourselves entirely removed from the verge of morality; here the strongest passions are productive of all manner of crimes, each man endeavouring, let the means be what they will, to indulge his inordinate desires. In temperate climates we find the inhabitants inconstant in their manners, as well as in their vices and virtues: the climate has not a quality determinate enough to fix them.

The heat of the climate may be so excessive as to deprive the body of all vigour and strength. Then the faintness is communicated to the mind; there is no curiosity, no enterprise, no generosity of sentiment; the inclinations are all passive; indolence constitutes the utmost happiness; scarcely any punishment is so severe as mental employment; and slavery is more supportable than the force and vigour of mind necessary for human conduct.

MONTESQUIEU, *De l'esprit des loix*, translated by THOMAS NUGENT, Vol. I. 238–239, 240–241.

CHAPTER III

The Consciousness of Kind

The Subjective Aspect

In the preceding chapter the modes of mental and of practical resemblance were viewed as objective facts. It is necessary now to analyze the subjective phenomena which, perhaps, accompany all degrees of mental and of practical resemblance, and certainly are found in connection with the higher degrees. These subjective phenomena consist of various degrees and modes of awareness on the part of the resembling individuals themselves, that they are alike. Collectively they are the Consciousness of Kind. This consciousness in its turn is a social and a socializing force, sometimes exceedingly delicate and subtle in its action, sometimes turbulent and all-powerful. Assuming endlessly varied modes of prejudice and of prepossession, of liking and of disliking, of love and of hate, it tends always to reconstruct and to dominate every mode of association and every social grouping.

The Fact of the Consciousness of Kind

Every living creature loveth his like,
And every man *loveth* his neighbour.
All flesh consorteth according to kind,
And a man will cleave to his like.
What fellowship shall the wolf have with the lamb?
So *is* the sinner unto the godly.
What peace is there between the hyena and the dog?

> And what peace between the rich man and the poor?
> Wild asses are the prey of lions in the wilderness;
> So poor men are pasture for the rich.
>
> *Ecclesiasticus*, Chap. xiii. 15–19.

Organic Sympathy

Before there is any distinct perception of differences or of resemblances by individvals who, from time to time, are brought into contact with one another, there are in their minds differences or resemblances of sensation corresponding to differences or resemblances of response to stimulus. In each mind also are differences or resemblances between sensations awakened by self and sensations awakened by fellow-beings. Furthermore, in each mind there are vague feelings of repulsion or of attraction, and equally vague feelings of agreeableness or of disagreeableness in the presence of other individuals. Collectively, the resembling sensations of resembling individuals, the resembling sensations of self and of others who resemble self, and the accompanying vague feelings of attraction and of pleasure, may be designated by the phrase Organic Sympathy.

Like Feelings with Like-Response. — The original element in organic sympathy is the resemblance of the complex of sensations in one mind to the complex of sensations in another mind, accompanying the like-response of the two similar nervous organizations to the same or to like stimuli.

Similarity of Sensations of Self and of Others. — On this basis, experience creates groupings of other resembling sensations which are antecedent to perceptions of likeness, but which prepare the way for them.

Throughout life the child growing into the man is continually receiving from his own bodily organism, and from the closely resembling bodily organisms of individuals like himself, sensations that are in a high degree alike; while sensations different from these are being received from other objects of every kind.

Facility of Imitation. — Animals or persons that closely resemble one another in nervous organization imitate one another with facility.

Often imitation is incited by conspicuous difference, but the greater the difference between one organism and another, the more difficult is any imitation of one by the other. Like-response to like stimulus easily develops into an imitation, in minor matters, — in details of difference, — of one another by creatures that, on the whole, are alike rather than unlike.

Sensations of Meeting. — When two persons who have never before seen one another unexpectedly meet, something happens in the nervous organization of each which, when examined, would have to be described as either a shock of unpleasant feeling or as a thrill of pleasurable feeling.

The feeling of shock, surprise, anger, disgust, which may happen to be the experience in the case, is due to a complicated impression of unlikeness which the stranger makes, — an impression composed of sensations of many kinds. If the experience is a thrill of pleasure, it is produced by a complex combination of impressions of unlikeness with impressions of likeness. The fundamental resemblances of the two persons are sufficiently great to dominate their differences.

Total Organic Sympathy. — All of the phenomena above

described enter into the composition of that vague but positive state, organic sympathy. Composed of sensations and emotions, it lies deeper in consciousness than any clear perception of resemblance. Creatures that presumably have no power of intellectual discrimination manifest the attractions of organic sympathy. Human beings quite capable of nice discrimination often find themselves liking or disliking one another when they can give no reason for their feeling.

Degrees of Organic Sympathy. — The careful observer will not fail to discover that human beings differ among themselves in their power of organic sympathy. In some persons organic sympathy is strong, in others of medium strength, in others weak.

Organic Sympathy: Gregariousness

The gregarious life — *i.e.* that of the animals who live in troops or hordes — is founded on the attraction of like for like, irrespective of sex, and for the first time manifests the true social tendencies, through the habit of acting in common.

RIBOT, *The Psychology of the Emotions*, 281.

Organic Sympathy among Animals

Sociality can begin only where, through some slight variation, there is less tendency than usual for the individuals to disperse widely. The offspring of the same parents, naturally kept together during their early days, may have their proneness to stay together maintained for a longer time — they may tend to part only at a somewhat later age.

* * * * * * *

Sociality having thus commenced, and survival of the fittest tending ever to maintain and increase it, it will be

further strengthened by the inherited effects of habit. The perception of kindred beings, perpetually seen, heard, and smelt, will come to form a predominant part of consciousness — so predominant a part that absence of it will inevitably cause discomfort.

Without further evidence we may safely infer that among creatures led step by step into gregariousness, there will little by little be established a pleasure in being together, — a pleasure in the consciousness of one another's presence, — a pleasure simpler than, and quite distinct from, those higher ones which it makes possible.

* * * * * * *

From the mental states produced in a gregarious animal by the *presence* of others like itself, we pass to the mental states produced in it by the *actions* of others like itself. The transition is insensible; for consciousness of the presence rarely exists apart from consciousness of the actions. Here, however, we may limit ourselves to actions that have marked significance.

As indicated above, an advantage gained by gregariousness which is probably the first, and remains among many creatures the most important, is the comparative safety secured by earlier detection of enemies. The emotion of fear expresses itself in movements of escape, preceded and accompanied, it may be, by sounds of some kind. Members of a herd simultaneously alarmed by a distant moving object or by some noise it makes — simultaneously making the movements and sounds accompanying alarm — severally see and hear these as being made by the rest at the same time that they are themselves making them, and at the same time that there is present the feeling which prompts them. Frequent repetition inevitably establishes an association between the consciousness of fear and the consciousness of these signs of fear in others — the sounds and movements cannot be perceived without there being aroused the feeling habitually joined with them when they were before perceived. Hence it inevitably happens that what is called the natural language of fear becomes, in a gregarious race, the means of exciting fear in those to whom no fearful object is perceptible. The alarmed members of a flock, seen and heard by the rest, excite in the

rest the emotion they are displaying; and the rest, prompted by the emotion thus sympathetically excited, begin to make like movements and sounds. Evidently the process thus initiated must, by inheritance of the effects of habit, furthered by survival of the fittest, render organic a quick and complete sympathy of this simple kind. Eventually a mere hearing of the sound of alarm peculiar to the species will by itself arouse the emotion of alarm. For the meaning of this sound becomes known not only in the way pointed out but in another way. Each is conscious of the sound made by itself when in fear; and the hearing of a like sound, tending to recall the sound made by itself, tends to arouse the accompanying feeling.

Hence the panics so conspicuous among gregarious creatures. Motions alone often suffice. A flock of birds toward which a man approaches will quietly watch for a while; but when one flies, those near it, excited by its movements of escape, fly also; and in a moment the rest are in the air. The same happens with sheep. Long they stand stupidly gazing, but when one runs, all run; and so strong is the sympathetic tendency among them that they will severally go through the same movement at the same spot — leaping where there is nothing to be leapt over. Commonly, along with these motions of alarm, there are sounds of alarm, which may similarly be observed to spread. Rooks on the ground no sooner hear the loud caw of one that suddenly rises, than they join in chorus as they rise.

Beyond sympathetic fear, thus readily established in gregarious animals because from hour to hour causes of fear act in common on many, and because the signs of fear are so conspicuous, there are sympathetic feelings of other kinds established after a kindred manner. Creatures living together are simultaneously affected by surrounding conditions of a favourable kind; are therefore liable to be simultaneously thrown into pleasurable states; are therefore habitually witnesses of the sounds and movements accompanying such states, in others as well as in themselves; and hence, in a way like that above explained, are apt to have pleasurable feelings sympathetically excited.

Lambs in the spring show us that the friskiness of

one is a cause of friskiness in those near it — if one leaps, others leap. Among horses, pleasurable excitement spreads, as every hunting-field shows. A pack of dogs, too, takes up the cry when a leader begins to give tongue. In the poultry yard kindred facts may be noticed. Early in the day that quacking of the ducks which is significant of satisfaction, comes and goes in chorus: when one sets the example, the rest follow. The like happens with geese and with fowls. Gregarious birds in a wild state furnish further illustrations. In a rookery the cawing rises into bursts of many voices, and then almost dying away, again suddenly spreads sympathetically; and the like holds with the screamings of parrots and macaws.

HERBERT SPENCER, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. II. 560–561, 562–564.

Perception of Resemblance

When the child begins to combine sensations of the moment with memories of similar sensations in the past, and to connect these immediate and memory sensations with the objects that have produced them, the process of perception has begun. The child now has not only like and unlike sensations, but also Perceptions of Likeness and of Unlikeness. These are much more complicated mental states.

Perceptions of Difference and of Resemblance. — It seems probable that perceptions of unlikeness appear earlier in the experience of every individual than perceptions of likeness. Indeed, likeness can be distinguished from absolute identity only by perceptions of the differences that exist between things that are in certain respects alike.

In the process of becoming acquainted, the differences between one individual and another are first observed, and a sense of difference is always present in the mind,

to be more or less overcome by any growing sense of similarity.

Impressions of Meeting. — With the attainment of clear perceptions of differences and of resemblances, the mere sensations of meeting are merged in complex Impressions of Meeting. On the intellectual side these are impressions of difference or impressions of resemblance. Accompanying these, however, are emotional states, which are manifested in the attitude of strangers toward one another.

Attitude toward Strangers. — According as the impressions are, on the whole, impressions of difference or impressions of resemblance, the general attitude of strangers toward one another is one of wonder and curiosity; of fear, suspicion, and unfriendliness; of indifference; or of trust and friendliness.

The Motives of Communication. — The first impressions of meeting are usually confused. Impressions of difference and impressions of resemblance are so mingled in the mind that one is left in doubt as to the real degree of resemblance, and the possible interest and pleasure of a further acquaintance. The desire to impart and to gain a more definite knowledge on these points is the original motive of communication.

The desire to impart must probably be placed first. In all communication we can discover a desire to make an impression. Subordinate to this desire, in most instances, appears to be the desire to know well the other person.

After acquaintance is established much communication takes place which seems to spring from an interest in the subject that is talked about. We give and ask information about third parties or material things, as well as

about ourselves. Even then, however, the other motives that have been mentioned can always be detected; and it is probable that in all cases they are really the predominant ones, although we are not always conscious of the fact.

Reflective Sympathy

When the perception of resemblance has arisen in consciousness, it reacts upon organic sympathy, and converts or develops it into an Intelligent or Reflective Sympathy. Reflective sympathy is awakened by the distinct knowledge that another person is like one's self.

When we perceive that some one who is organized as we are is doing a certain thing, we feel the impulse to act as he acts. If he appears to be in pain, we feel a certain discomfort or even a certain degree of the pain that he experiences. If he is evidently in a state of great joy, we also feel a certain degree of gladness.

Spinoza on Reflective Sympathy

Although we may not have been moved toward a thing by any affect, yet, if it is like ourselves, whenever we imagine it to be affected by any affect, we are therefore affected by the same. . . . If, therefore, the nature of the external body be like that of our body, then the idea of the external body which we imagine will involve an affection of our body like that of the external body. Therefore, if we imagine any one who is like ourselves to be affected with any affect, this imagination will express an affection of our body like that affect; and, therefore, we shall be affected with a similar affect ourselves, because we imagine something like us to be affected with the same.

SPINOZA, *Ethic*, Part III., Prop. XXVII.

Adam Smith on Reflective Sympathy

In order to produce this concord, as nature teaches the spectators to assume the circumstances of the person principally concerned, so she teaches this last in some measure to assume those of the spectators. As they are continually placing themselves in his situation, and thence conceiving emotions similar to what he feels; so he is as constantly placing himself in theirs, and thence conceiving some degree of that coolness about his own fortune, with which he is sensible that they will view it. As they are constantly considering what they themselves would feel, if they actually were the sufferers, so he is as constantly led to imagine in what manner he would be affected if he was only one of the spectators of his own situation. As their sympathy makes them look at it, in some measure, with his eyes, so his sympathy makes him look at it, in some measure, with theirs, especially when in their presence and acting under their observation: and as the reflected passion, which he thus conceives, is much weaker than the original one, it necessarily abates the violence of what he felt before he came into their presence, before he began to recollect in what manner they would be affected by it, and to view his situation in this candid and impartial light.

ADAM SMITH, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 28.

Affection

The perception of resemblance and conscious sympathy commonly develop into the stronger feeling which is variously named Liking, Friendliness, and Affection, according to the degree of its strength. Those individuals who, as we say, have something in common, that is, those who are so much alike that they are sympathetic and have similar ideas and tastes, on the whole like one another better than individuals who have little or nothing in common.

We must not make the mistake, however, of supposing that in all cases the strongest affection springs up between persons who, at the moment of their first acquaintance, are actually very much alike in mental and moral qualities. Perhaps the more frequent case is that of a growing affection between persons potentially alike. Apparently it is the capacity of two or more persons to become alike under each other's influence, that gives rise to the strongest friendship and the highest degree of pleasure in companionship.

Aristotle on Friendship

But the subject of friendship or love is one that affords scope for a good many differences of opinion. Some people define it as a sort of likeness, and define people who are like each other as friends. Hence the sayings, "Like seeks like," "Birds of a feather," and so on. Others on the contrary say that "Two of a trade never agree." Upon this subject *some philosophical thinkers* indulge in more profound physical speculations; Euripides asserting that

> "the parched Earth loves the rain,
> And the great Heaven rain-laden loves to fall
> Earthwards";

Heraclitus that "the contending tends together," and that "harmony most beautiful is formed of discords," and that "all things are by strife engendered"; others, among whom is Empedocles, taking the opposite view and urging that "like desires like."

* * * * * * *

The perfect friendship or love is the friendship or love of people who are good and alike in virtue; for these people are alike in wishing each other's good, in so far as they are good, and they are good in themselves. But it is people who wish the good of their friends for their friends' sake that are in the truest sense friends, as their friendship is the consequence of their own character, and is not an accident.

Their friendship therefore continues as long as their virtue, and virtue is a permanent quality.

Again, each of them is good in an absolute sense, and good in relation to his friend. For good men are not only good in an absolute sense, but serve each other's interest. They are pleasant too; for the good are pleasant in an absolute sense, and pleasant in relation to one another, as everybody finds pleasure in such actions as are proper to him, and the like, and all good people act alike or nearly alike.

Such a friendship is naturally permanent, as it unites in itself all the proper conditions of friendship. For the motive of all friendship or affection is good or pleasure, whether it be absolute or relative to the person who feels the affection, and it depends upon a certain similarity. In the friendship of good men all these specified conditions belong to the friends in themselves; for other friendships only bear a resemblance to the perfect friendship. That which is good in an absolute sense is also in an absolute sense pleasant. These are the principal objects of affection, and it is upon these that affectionate feeling, and affection in the highest and best sense, depend.

ARISTOTLE, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by WELLDON, 247, 252.

Dante on Friendship

For there is no more lawful nor more courteous way of doing honour to one's self than by doing honour to one's friend; and, since friendship cannot exist between the unlike, wherever one sees friendship, likeness is understood; and wherever likeness is understood, thither runs public praise or blame.

DANTE, *Il Convito*, translated by SAYER, 99–100.

Desire for Recognition

A remaining mental fact to be noted as a subjective consequence of resemblance, is the desire which an individual

feels for Recognition, including a return of sympathy and affection.

This state of mind is the basis of some of the most important passions, such as pride and ambition.

Aristotle on Reciprocity of Affection

There being three motives of friendship or love, it must be observed that we do not apply the term "friendship" or "love" to the affection felt for inanimate things. The reason is (1) that they are incapable of reciprocating affection, and (2) that we do not wish their good; for it would, I think, be ridiculous to wish the good, *e.g.*, of wine; if we wish it at all, it is only in the sense of wishing the wine to keep well, in the hope of enjoying it ourselves. But it is admitted that we ought to wish our friend's good for his sake, and not for our own. If we wish people good in this sense, we are called well-wishers, unless our good wishes are returned; such reciprocal well-wishing is called friendship or love.

ARISTOTLE, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by WELLDON, 249.

Spinoza on Desire for Recognition

If we love a thing which is like ourselves, we endeavor as much as possible to make it love us in return.

SPINOZA, *Ethic*, Part III., Prop. XXXIII.

The Sympathetic Origin of Virtues

Upon these two different efforts, upon that of the spectator to enter into the sentiments of the person principally concerned, and upon that of the person principally concerned to bring down his emotions to what the spectator can go along with, are founded two different sets of virtues. The soft, the gentle, the amiable virtues, the virtues of candid condescension and indulgent humanity, are founded upon the one: the great, the awful and respectable, the

virtues of self-denial, of self-government, of that command of the passions which subjects all the movements of our nature to what our own dignity and honour and the propriety of our own conduct require, take their origin from the other.

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And hence it is, that to feel much for others and little for ourselves, that to restrain our selfish, and to indulge our benevolent affections, constitutes the perfection of human nature; and can alone produce among mankind that harmony of sentiments and passions in which consists their whole grace and propriety. As to love our neighbour as we love ourselves is the great law of Christianity, so it is the great precept of nature to love ourselves only as we love our neighbour, or what comes to the same thing, as our neighbour is capable of loving us.

ADAM SMITH, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 30, 32.

The Total Consciousness of Kind

The five modes of consciousness which have been described are not independent of one another. They are so intimately blended that it is only by a process of scientific analysis that they can be thought of singly. In actual experience they are united in a state of mind that, for the moment, seems perfectly simple. The perception of resemblance, the sympathy, the affection, and the desire for recognition that go with it, seem, for the time being, to be as perfectly one fact of consciousness as does the image of a person or of a landscape upon the retina of the eye. This state of consciousness is pleasurable, and includes the feeling that we wish to maintain and to expand it. The feeling that it carries with it is, in fact, like that which one experiences while engaged in a pleasurable game or while witnessing an engrossing drama. One does not stop

to ask whether it is useful or worth while, any more than he does when eagerly looking forward to the next successful move on a chessboard. He enjoys it while it lasts, and feels that it is worth while in itself, quite irrespective of any consequences that may follow.

The consciousness of kind, then, is that pleasurable state of mind which includes organic sympathy, the perception of resemblance, conscious or reflective sympathy, affection, and the desire for recognition.

Scope and Mode of the Consciousness of Kind

In consequence of its own nature the consciousness of kind assumes a certain range and mode for every possible mode of resemblance among conscious beings — for every possible grouping of similar conscious units. There is a consciousness of kind corresponding to each of the broader age classes, corresponding to the difference of sex, corresponding to each of the several degrees of kinship, corresponding to local and national groupings of those who dwell together, corresponding to the various arrangements of individuals by languages, by beliefs, by occupations, and by political preferences and rankings, and corresponding to each of the gradations of economic well-being, of culture, of vitality, of mentality, of morality, and of sociality.

Some of these manifestations of the consciousness of kind play or have played a conspicuous and important part in social affairs, while others are comparatively insignificant. In primitive society the consciousness of sex is extremely influential, often assuming forms of sex taboo. The prejudices of nationality and of race have been of tremendous consequence throughout the whole course of

social evolution. Local pride and patriotism are sentiments always to be reckoned with; while sectarian, partisan, and class feelings are social forces universally recognized.

Very slowly, however, there is forming in the human race a general or universal consciousness of kind. The shifting elements of circumstance and the varying moods of personality therefore must be taken into account before we can tell how the consciousness of kind will shape itself and will direct action in any concrete case. An artistic temperament, for example, may be strongly attracted by like temperaments in another nation, or even race, than its own. A philanthropic enthusiast may be more strongly drawn to kindred natures among the destitute than to acquaintances of his own social rank.

Sexual Consciousness and Taboo

The remarkable facts which follow show the primitive theory and practice of this separation of the sexes. Both in origin and results the phenomena are those of taboo, and hence I have applied to these facts the specific term of sexual taboo. At first sight this early stage of the relations of men and women may cause surprise, but when one realizes the continuity of human ideas, and analyzes one's own consciousness, one may find there in potentiality, if not actualized by prejudice, the same conception, though perhaps emptied of its religious content.

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Solidarity of sex is practically universal in all stages of culture, even the highest. Amongst the Bedouins of Libya women associate for the most part with their own sex only. In Morocco women are by no means reserved when by themselves, nor do they seek to cover their faces. Amongst the Gauchos of Uruguay women show a marked tendency to huddle together. Sexual solidarity is well brought out

in the following. Amongst the extinct Tasmanians, if a wife was struck by her husband, the whole female population would come out and bring the "rattle of their tongues to bear upon the brute." When ill-treated, the Kaffir wife can claim an asylum with her father, till her husband has made atonement. "Nor would many European husbands like to be subjected to the usual discipline on such occasions. The offending husband must go in person to ask for his wife. He is instantly surrounded by the women of the place, who cover him at once with reproaches and blows. Their nails and fists may be used with impunity, for it is the day of female vengeance, and the belaboured delinquent is not allowed to resist. He is not permitted to see his wife, but is sent home, with an intimation of what cattle are expected from him, which he must send before he can demand his wife again." Amongst the Kunama the wife has an agent who protects her against her husband, and fines him for ill-treatment. She possesses considerable authority in the house, and is on equal terms with her husband. Amongst the Beni-Amer women enjoy considerable independence. To obtain marital privileges, the husband has to make his wife a present of value. He must do the same for every harsh word he uses, and is often kept a whole night out of doors in the rain, until he pays. The women have a strong *esprit de corps;* when a wife is ill-treated the other women come in to help her; it goes without saying that the husband is always in the wrong. The women express much contempt for the men, and it is considered disgraceful in a woman to show love for her husband.

ERNEST CRAWLEY, *The Mystic Rose*, 35, 41–42.

Race Consciousness: The Eastern Jews

We have already described the religious harmony of the ancient world, and the facility with which the most different and even hostile nations embraced, or at least respected, each other's superstitions. A single people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who, under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves,

emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander; and, as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations. The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners seemed to mark them out a distinct species of men, who boldly professed, or who faintly disguised, their implacable hatred to the rest of human kind. Neither the violence of Antiochus, nor the arts of Herod, nor the example of the circumjacent nations, could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses the elegant mythology of the Greeks.

GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II. 2–3.

Ethnic and Sectarian Consciousness

Another portion of this company of emigrants repaired to Worcester, and there attempted to form a settlement and enjoy religious privileges under the ministry of one of the pastors who had accompanied them to this country. And, although they were an industrious, orderly, worthy, and pious congregation, yet in consequence of their being foreigners, especially from Ireland, and introducing the Presbyterian mode of worship, which was before unknown in New England, the prejudices of the Congregational communities in Worcester were so strong and bitter towards them that they were compelled to leave the place. They in consequence separated and were dispersed through the country. Some of these families settled in Coleraine, some in Palmer, some in Pelham, and some in other towns in Massachusetts, and, being joined by emigrants, from time to time, from the old country, formed those Presbyterian societies which existed for many years in these several towns.

A considerable number of this body of emigrants, on arriving at Boston, saw fit to remain in that city, and, uniting with those of their countrymen of their own faith whom they found there, formed the first Presbyterian church and society, over which the Rev. John Morehead was installed pastor. It was at first styled the Pres-

byterian church in Long Lane, — subsequently Federal Street.

Sixteen of the families who had purposed to form a distinct settlement, and become the charge of the Rev. Mr. MacGregor, embarked in a vessel for Casco Bay, in order to select a township; while the remaining families, with Mr. MacGregor, retired from Boston into the country, some to Andover, others to Dracut, until a suitable tract of land should be found for a permanent settlement.

The party that left Boston for Casco Bay arrived there late in the season; and, it proving to be a very early and cold winter, the vessel was frozen in. Many of the families, not being able to find accommodations on shore, were obliged to pass the whole winter on board the ship, suffering severely from the want of food, as well as of conveniences of situation.

EDWARD LUTWYCKE PARKER, *History of Londonderry* (New Hampshire), quoted in *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. IV. No. 93, 3–4.

Social-Religious Consciousness: The Friends

The first Welsh emigrants arrived on the 13th of August, 1682. They were Quakers from Merionethshire who had felt the hand of persecution. They had bought from Penn in England five thousand acres of unsurveyed land, and had been promised by him the reservation of a large tract exclusively for Welsh settlers, to the end that they might preserve the customs of their native land, decide all debates "in a Gospel order," and not entangle themselves with "laws in an unknown tongue."

WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III. 482.

Ethnic Solidarity in a New Environment

The neighborhood of Hull-House was once the Prague of the Bohemian people in Chicago. The district extending from Canal to Halsted, and from Ewing to Twelfth Street, was, before the great fire of 1870, the largest and best settlement of Bohemians in the city. When, after

that fire, the city began to extend itself beyond the western limits, and new tracts of land were measured off into cheap lots, the Bohemians, who love nature, pure air, and gardens, sold their property in this crowded part of the city, and moved to the new region, where they might invest in more land, and so afford the luxury of a garden. The movement once started, it was not long before the whole community changed its location, and soon there grew up a vast colony, "a city within a city," spreading from Halsted to Ashland Avenue, and from Sixteenth to Twentieth Street, and numbering not less than forty-five thousand Bohemians.

The colony again received a name; and this time it was in honor of the second largest city of Bohemia, Pilzen or Pilsen. Soon, however, it grew too small for the flood of Bohemians, which reached its highest tide in the years 1884–5, when the greatest percentage of the Bohemian emigration to the United States poured into the new and prosperous Chicago. It is now estimated that there are from sixty to seventy thousand Bohemians in the city; and Chicago has the distinction of containing within itself the third largest city of Bohemians in the world. The last element of the rapidly growing settlement is now forming west of Douglas Park.

Hull-House Maps and Papers, 115–116.

Local Consciousness of Kind: The United States

It has been inevitable that with such a distribution of blood and qualities there should have grown up in each region a sectional consciousness. The people of each grand division know their own kind with almost as clear a perception of the differences between themselves and the people of other parts as one finds in the different nations of continental Europe, if allowance be made for the agreement in language here and the differences there. There is, in short, in each geographical section of the United States, a perfectly distinct consciousness of kind among the people dwelling there, and its expression in sectional pride or "provincialism" has long been one of the stock subjects of American newspaper humor. Within

each of the great sectional divisions, again, there are minor groupings, sometimes based upon ethnic similarities, as, for example, in the case of the Pennsylvania Germans or of the northwestern Scandinavians, sometimes based upon peculiarities of religious belief and practice, as among the New England Congregationalists or the Pennsylvania Quakers, and sometimes based upon an unusual predilection for political activity, as among the Tammany forces of New York City or the Republicans of Ohio. Each of these groups has its own intense consciousness of kind, a consciousness in which sympathy, agreement in taste, or in interest, or in belief, and a common sense of difference from all the rest of mankind are indistinguishably combined.

GIDDINGS, *A. P*

The Consciousness of Nationality

The doctrine of nationalities has been especially formulated and defended by Italian writers, who in this field occupy the foremost place. The aspiration towards a common nationality that slowly grew up among the Italian people, in spite of the many and ancient political divisions that separated them, may be probably traced to the traditions of the old Roman power. Dante and Machiavelli at once displayed and strengthened it, and it has greatly coloured the Italian political philosophy of our century.

The first question to be asked is, What constitutes a nationality? Vico had defined it as "a natural society of men who, by unity of territory, of origin, of customs, and of language, are drawn into a community of life and social conscience." More modern Italian writers, among whom Mancini, Mamiani, and Pierantoni are conspicuous, have employed themselves in amplifying this definition. They enumerate as the constituent elements of nationality, race, religion, language, geographical position, manners, history, and laws, and when these or several of them combine they create a nationality. It becomes perfect when a special type has been formed; when a great homogeneous body of men acquires, for the first time, a consciousness of its separate nationality, and thus becomes "a moral unity with, a common thought." This is the *cogito ergo sum* of nations,

the self-consciousness which establishes in nations as in individuals a true personality. And as the individual man, according to these writers, has an inalienable right to personal freedom, so also has the nationality. Every government of one nationality by another is of the nature of slavery, and is essentially illegitimate, and the true right of nations is the recognition of the full right of each nationality to acquire and maintain a separate existence, to create or to change its government acccording to its desires. Civil communities should-form, extend, and dissolve themselves by a spontaneous process, and in accordance with this right and principle of nationality. Every sovereign who appeals to a foreign Power to suppress movements among its own people; every foreign Power which intervenes as Russia did in Hungary, and as Austria did in Italy, for the purpose of suppressing a national movement, is essentially criminal. On the other hand, any war for the emancipation of struggling nationalities, such as that of France with Austria, and Russia with Turkey, derives its justification from this fact, quite irrespective of the immediate cause or pretexts that produced it.

Such, pushed to its full extent and definition, is the philosophy which, in vaguer and looser terms, pervades very widely the political thought of Europe, and has played a great part in the historic development of the nineteenth century. It may be observed that, though the idea of nationality is greatly affected by democracy, it is in itself distinct from it and is, in fact, very frequently separated from it. The idea and passion of nationality blend quite as easily with loyalty to a dynasty as with attachment to a republican form of government, and nations that value very little internal or constitutional freedom are often passionately devoted to their national individuality and independence. It may be observed also, that the many different elements of nationality which have been mentioned rarely concur, and that no one of them is always sufficient to mark out a distinct nationality. As a matter of history, all great nations have been formed, in the first instance, by many successive conquests and aggrandisements, and have gradually become more or less perfectly fused into a single organism. Race, except when it is marked by colour, is

usually a most obscure and deceptive guide, and in most European countries different race elements are inextricably mixed. Language and religion have had a much greater and deeper power in forming national unities; but there are examples of different creeds and languages very successfully blended into one nationality, and there are examples of separations of feeling and character, due to historical, political, and industrial causes, existing where race, creed, and language are all the same.

* * * * * * *

Sometimes, as in Italy, the movement of nationality is a movement of sympathy and agglomeration, drawing together men who had long been politically separated. More frequently it is a disintegrating force, and many of its advocates desire to call into intense life and self-consciousness the different race elements in a great and composite empire, with the hope that they may ultimately assert for themselves the right of distinct national individuality.

LECKY, *Democracy and Liberty*, Vol. I. 474–479.

Mutability and Degrees of the Consciousness of Kind

Because the consciousness of kind is complex, it is necessarily an ever changing mental state. It varies as one or another of its elements is predominant. At one time it may be chiefly an idea; at another time, chiefly sympathy; at yet another time, chiefly the desire for recognition; but never is it one of these elements alone. All are present in some degree.

And, for reasons to be mentioned shortly, the consciousness of kind, protean in scope and mode, varies in degree with the degree of resemblance upon which it is based. It loses intensity as it expands to the more remote resemblances, and becomes intense as it contracts to the narrower degrees.

The Law of Sympathy. — Using the word "sympathy" as a collective word for all the feelings that are included in the consciousness of kind, the law of sympathy is: *The degree of sympathy decreases as the generality of resemblance increases.*

Thus, for example, when we compare those degrees of mental and of practical resemblance that correspond to degrees of kinship, we discover that there is normally a greater degree of sympathy among members of a family than among all members of a nation, a greater degree of sympathy among men of a common nationality than among all men of the same ethnic race, a greater degree of sympathy among men of the same ethnic race than among all men of the same glottic race, and a greater degree of sympathy among men of the same glottic race than among all men of the same colour race.

In like manner, when we compare those degrees of mental and of practical resemblance that are irrespective of the degrees of kinship, we discover that there is, for example, greater sympathy among Protestants than among Protestants and Roman Catholics taken together, and more sympathy among Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians taken together than among all Christians and all devotees of all other religions taken together.

Adam Smith on the Law of Sympathy

We expect less sympathy from a common acquaintance than from a friend: we cannot open to the former all those little circumstances which we can unfold to the latter: we assume, therefore, more tranquillity before him, and endeavour to fix our thoughts upon those general outlines of our situation which he is willing to consider. We expect still less sympathy from an assembly of strangers,

and we assume, therefore, still more tranquillity before them, and always endeavour to bring down our passion to that pitch, which the particular company we are in may be expected to go along with. Nor is this only an assumed appearance: for if we are at all masters of ourselves, the presence of a mere acquaintance will really compose us, still more than that of a friend; and that of an assembly of strangers still more than that of an acquaintance.

ADAM SMITH, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 29.

Causes Determining the Consciousness of Kind

The composition, scope, mode, and degree of the consciousness of kind are determined by certain causes, among which are included the extent and the degree of common stimulation, and certain limitations of mental action which are fixed by the laws of least effort and of increasing and diminishing return.

Common Stimulation. — We have seen that both resemblance itself, and that subjective consequence of resemblance which we have called organic sympathy, have both remote and immediate antecedents in common stimulation, including, of course, all the modes of inter-stimulation. The greater the amount of common stimulation, — in whatever form occurring, and including frequency of repetition, — the greater, in the long run, must be both the mental and the practical resemblance and the consciousness of kind.

The Limits of Sympathy. — These consequences are conditioned, however, by those laws of differential effect that have already been explained. Sympathy and affection result, as has been shown, from habits of like-response to the same or to like stimuli. Consequently there is much material for the genesis of sympathy between resembling

individuals, and comparatively little for its genesis between greatly differing individuals. Sympathy and affection, therefore, go out most to those who most resemble ourselves, simply because, under these conditions of genesis, such is the direction of least difficulty.

To satisfy ourselves that this interpretation of sympathy in terms of the law of least effort is the true one, we have only to ask ourselves what happens when we have the feeling that we *ought* to sympathize with some person or class of persons, as distinguished from a spontaneous outgoing of sympathy towards them. Any student who will carefully think over this problem, giving full weight to the sense of effort that is correlated with the sense of obligation, will have no difficulty in convincing himself that spontaneous sympathy and affection are simply cases of mental activity in the direction of least effort.

Ejective Interpretation. — The same limitation applies in like manner to the intellectual element in the consciousness of kind. We interpret one another in terms of ourselves, and we do so because this way of knowing one another is the way of least effort. Discovering that some of our acquaintances in certain particulars are very like ourselves; that other individuals are much less like ourselves; that yet others are but little like ourselves, save in those human qualities that mark the entire species of mankind, — we quickly form mental classes that are based upon these degrees of resemblance.

This interpretation of others in terms of one's self may be called Ejective Interpretation. The word "eject," first used by William Kingdon Clifford, means a mental image of another which is derived largely from one's experiences of one's self. When the child, observing an object that

walks, talks, and smiles as he himself does, interprets that object in terms of himself, and assumes that it is a human being like himself, the mental process which has resulted in this conclusion is ejective. The child has mentally thrown himself into the perceived object, and he understands it because he has done so. Thus, all interpretation of our fellow-beings is ejective. It proceeds through a comparison of themselves and ourselves in which the various points of resemblance and of difference are observed and classified. Ejective interpretation is the intellectual element in the consciousness of kind, and a consequence of the law that mental activity follows the line of least effort.

Object and Eject

When I come to the conclusion that *you* are conscious, and that there are objects in your consciousness similar to those in mine, I am not inferring any actual or possible feelings of my own, but *your* feelings, which are not, and cannot by any possibility become, objects of my consciousness. . . . But the inferred existence of your feelings, of objective groupings among them similar to those among my feelings, and of a subjective order in many respects analogous to my own, — these inferred existences are in the very act of inference *thrown out* of my consciousness, recognized as outside of it, as *not* being a part of me. I propose, accordingly, to call these inferred existences *ejects*, things thrown out of my consciousness, to distinguish them from *objects*, things presented in my consciousness, phenomena.

WILLIAM KINGDON CLIFFORD, *On the Nature of Things in Themselves*, *Mind*, Vol. III. No. 9, January, 1878, also *Lectures and Essays*, 275.

Causes and Limits of the Desire for Recognition. — Finally, the like interpretation must be made of our desire for recognition.

Among the very earliest pleasures of life are those that we derive from the ministering attentions of mother, and of other relatives and friends. Because our first satisfactions of every kind, including the pleasurable stimulation of all our senses, are inseparably associated with such attentions, we learn to take delight in recognition by the fellow-beings that are nearest to us.

Then, because of diminishing returns, and in virtue of the law that we seek to increase satisfaction by searching for new means or new sources of pleasure among objects that most closely resemble those with which we already are familiar, we begin to look for recognition, attention, and sympathy from those fellow-beings who most closely resemble our immediate family friends and ourselves. Little by little the circle is widened, until we have formed the habit of expecting recognition and sympathy from all human beings, in a gradation that corresponds to their degrees of resemblance to ourselves. Thus, in its entirety, the consciousness of kind is seen to be a consequence of the persistence of mental activity in the lines of least difficulty.

The Consciousness of Kind as Dynamic

Beginning with feeling, and always combining feeling with perception, the consciousness of kind is dynamic. It is a power, as real as that consciousness of disciplined strength which fights victorious battles, or as that consciousness of weakness and demoralization which hastens inglorious retreat. Originating in society, it is a true social force, a product of social relations. It is also always a socializing force, perfecting association and developing a social nature.

The Expansion of the Consciousness of Kind

As a social and a socializing force the activity of the consciousness of kind is perhaps best revealed in the phenomena of its expansion, and in certain consequences of its expansion, in connection with that process which we call assimilation.

A relatively perfect consciousness of kind can exist only in minds that are in a high degree alike. In every population, however, a large proportion of its component individuals, not yet in a high degree mentally alike, are gradually becoming alike. The consciousness of potential resemblance, which may be observed in minds that are thus developing into resemblance, is a phenomenon of the social mind not less important than the consciousness of kind already relatively perfect.

Potential Resemblance. — We all know from personal experience that there are some minds among our acquaintances that never become more sympathetic with our own. The oftener we engage in argument with them the farther apart do they and we seem to drift. With other minds the case is wholly different. The ripening of acquaintance is the ripening of sympathy and agreement. Our differences disappear or become of little consequence. We learn to see things in the same light, and to regard them with the same feelings. This organization of two or more minds which makes their approach or agreement certain is the thing which is meant by the term "potential resemblance."

The Consciousness of Mental Approach. — Accordingly, the consciousness of potential resemblance is a subjective phenomenon somewhat more complex than the conscious-

ness of kind as thus far described. It includes the ordinary perceptions of difference and of resemblance; but combined with these is the further perception that the differences are decreasing and the resemblances increasing; or, perhaps, the judgment that the differences probably will decrease and the resemblances increase. As potential resemblance develops into actual and perfected resemblance, the consciousness of potential resemblance becomes a relatively perfect consciousness of kind.

Assimilation or Socialization

The process of mental approach which presents these two aspects, objective and subjective, — the growing resemblance of two or more minds to one another, and the developing consciousness of kind in each one, — is familiarly known as Assimilation. It may also be called socialization.

Spontaneous Assimilation, and Concerted. — To a great extent socialization is deliberately furthered by various acts of concerted volition, yet to be described. In its beginnings, however, socialization is very largely an unconscious, or only semi-conscious process, consisting in a modification of the emotions and thoughts of potentially resembling individuals by one another, in ways which they do not clearly perceive at the moment; and in the gradual discovery that, without realizing exactly how, they are becoming alike.

The Socialization of Motives and Methods. — The process consists in part in a gradual socialization of the motives and methods of appreciation, of utilization, and of characterization. Under the influence of a growing conscious-

ness of kind purely individualistic motives and methods are made over or converted into socialized motives and methods.

1. *The Conversion of Individualistic Motives.* — The pleasures of physical activity, of receptive sensation, and of simple ideation among the motives of appreciation, and mere need among the motives of utilization, are least susceptible of modification. The pleasures of emotion and of thought, the sense of power, rational desire, and the sense of proportion in life, are modifiable in a high degree. Intermediate in modifiability are such motives as appetite and desire.

Few, if any, of our appetites and desires are what they would have been if each individual had lived by himself, in contact only with the physical world and lower forms of life. To a great extent we cultivate certain appetites and repress others, merely because our associates do so.

It is as factors of a growing consciousness of kind that new desires arise, to become motives of characterization, for example, the desires for esteem and for praise; and that new combinations of appetite and of sympathy develop into that powerful moral motive, the very names of which — kindness, affection, love — are significant of its origin. This motive manifests itself in a new mode of conduct, namely, self-sacrifice. Affection and self-sacrifice probably originate in a discharge of surplus energies — or in organic sympathy — but they are greatly strengthened by the intellectual perception of resemblance.

2. *The Conversion of Individualistic Methods.* — Of the methods of appreciation, of utilization, and of characterization, the least modifiable by the consciousness of kind are instinctive response to stimulus, and attack. Modifiable

in the highest degree are preferential attention, critical inspection, and self-control.

Direction is greatly modifiable because of the effect of the consciousness of kind upon impression. Impression itself produces two very different effects. One effect is fear, which may become terror and terminate in paralysis; the other effect is fascination and pleasure. The one mode of impression is the cause of submission, surrender, and an abject kind of obedience; the other mode of impression is the cause of loyalty, fealty, and the voluntary attachment to a leader.

The effect of the consciousness of kind upon the fear-inspiring mode of impression is reflected in the saying, that familiarity breeds contempt. The sense of difference and its accompanying sense of mystery are a large element in fear. These disappear with the discovery of resemblance. Rulers and dignitaries who wish to inspire fear surround themselves with an air of mystery, and foster the public delusion that in some inexplicable way they are unlike other men. The effect of the consciousness of kind upon the fascination-producing mode of impression is to intensify devotion. The more "in touch" a leader is with his followers, — that is to say, the more like them he is in every respect except his superior sagacity and power, — the more blind and unswerving is their allegiance.

Assimilation in Language: Greece

What language however the Pelasgians used to speak I am not able with certainty to say. But if one must pronounce judging by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwelt in the city of Creston above the Tyrsenians, and who were once neighbors of the race now

called Dorian, dwelling then in the land which is now called Thessaliotis, and also by those that remain of the Pelasgians who settled at Plakia and Skylakē in the region of the Hellespont, who before that had been settlers with the Athenians, and of the natives of the various other towns which are really Pelasgian, though they have lost the name, — if one must pronounce judging by these, the Pelasgians used to speak a Barbarian language. If therefore all the Pelasgian race was such as these, then the Attic race, being Pelasgian, at the same time when it changed and became Hellenic, unlearnt also its language. For the people of Creston do not speak the same language with any of those who dwell about them, nor yet do the people of Plakia, — but they speak the same language one as the other: and by this it is proved that they still keep unchanged the form of language which they brought with them when they migrated to these places. As for the Hellenic race, it has used ever the same language, as I clearly perceive, since it first took its rise; but since the time when it parted off feeble at first from the Pelasgian race, setting forth from a small beginning it has increased to that great number of races which we see, and chiefly because many Barbarian races have been added to it besides. Moreover it is true, as I think, of the Pelasgian race also, that so far as it remained Barbarian it never made any great increase.

HERODOTUS, *History*, translated by G. C. MACAULAY, Vol. I. 25–26.

French-Italian Cultural Assimilation

The fall of Florence in 1530, together with the building of the new royal château at Fontainebleau and the marriage of the second son of Francis I. with Catharine de' Medici, had led to a large influx of Italians, mostly Florentines, into France. On the accession of Catharine's husband, Henry II., to the throne, they began to make their influence felt alike in politics, society, literature, and art. The result was that the Renaissance in France entered upon a distinctly Italian phase of development, which lasted for

forty years, though after the first five-and-twenty of these a species of reaction ensued.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III. 53.

Celtic-Teutonic Assimilation

Both the Gaelic and Norse languages were almost certainly spoken in Man during this period. The masters would speak Norse among themselves; the law and all public transactions at the Tynwald and elsewhere would be in that tongue, while the servants or slaves, and probably many of the women, would usually speak Gaelic. It is clear, however, from the vast preponderance of Celtic place-names and surnames over Scandinavian that the women's tongue soon predominated, and that, when Scandinavian rule came to an end, the Norse language soon disappeared.

A. W. Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. I. 157.

Difficulties of Assimilation: The Channel Islands

The unsettled state of language in Jersey, must be admitted to be a great obstacle to the refinements of civilization. The use of a pure language as one universal medium of communication, offers to the moral and intellectual condition of a people, as great a facility for improvement, as railroads, and steam, offer to commerce. But this medium Jersey has not yet the advantage of. The universal language is still a barbarous dialect. French, though the language of the Court proceedings, and of the Legislature, is not in common use even among the upper ranks; nay, the use of it, is even looked upon as affectation; and although the English language be sufficiently comprehended for the purposes of intercourse; and is most usually spoken in the best mixed society; it is certainly not understood by many, in its purity. The constant use of a dialect necessarily induces a distaste for any other purer tongues. Their beauties are not, and cannot be appreciated; and thus, an effectual barrier is opposed to that refinement, which is the sure result of the knowledge and appreciation

of the productions which belong to every perfected language. This disadvantage, however, is gradually disappearing: and with another generation will probably be no longer felt. Children are now universally taught English; and amongst the young, there is an evident preference of English. The constant intercourse of the tradespeople too, with the English residents; and the considerable sprinkling of English residents in Jersey society, have also their effect; and it is probable, that in twenty years more, English will be the language of the Legislature, the Judicature, and the people.

H. D. Inglis, *The Channel Islands* (1834), Vol. I. 111–112.

Resistance to Assimilation: Dutch New York

Many of the old Dutch customs were still kept up. New England could boast of no such day as New Year's day. Boston and Philadelphia saw no such scenes as on every Christmas and every Easter day were enacted in New York. For, despite the boast that men speaking the tongue of every civilized people were to be found in the city, the Dutch element was still strong, and the language and religion of Holland were most prevalent. Half the signs on William Street were in Dutch. At the Hudson market, and along the slips of the Hudson river, a knowledge of Dutch was absolutely indispensable. Until twenty years before, no sermon in the English language had ever been preached in either of the three Dutch churches, and, even after the revolution, prayers were still made, and sermons still preached, at times, in the language of the Stuyvesants and Van Dams.

McMaster, *The History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I. 55.

The Process of Assimilation: Dutch-English Albany

Albany was a Dutch Colony; and, until within a few years, the inhabitants have been, almost without an exception, descendants from the original settlers. From this fact it has derived its whole aspect, and character. The

houses are almost all built in the Dutch manner; standing endwise upon the street; with high, sharp roofs, small windows, and low ceilings. The appearance of these houses is ordinary, dull, and disagreeable. The house, first erected in this town, is now standing; and was built of bricks, brought from Holland.

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Since that period, an essential change has taken place in Albany. A considerable number of the opulent inhabitants, whose minds were enlarged by the influence of the Revolutionary War, and the extensive intercourse which it produced among them and their countrymen, and still more by education, and travelling, have resolutely broken through a set of traditionary customs, venerable by age, and strong by universal attachment. These gentlemen have built many handsome houses in the modern English style; and in their furniture, manners, and mode of living, have adopted the English customs. To this important change the strangers, who within a few years have become a numerous body of the inhabitants, have extensively contributed. All these, from whatever country derived, have chosen to build, and live, in the English manner.

The preference, given to the customs of the English, must descend with increasing influence to their children. In the English language all accompts, instruments of conveyance, records, and papers employed in legal processes, must be written. The attainment of this language has, therefore, now become indispensable to the safety, as well as to the prosperity, of every individual. Urged by this necessity, and influenced by the example of their superiors, the humblest classes of the Dutch must, within a short period, adopt the English language, and manners. Within two generations there will probably be no distinction between the descendants of the different nations. Intermarriages are also becoming more frequent; and will hasten this event.

DWIGHT, *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. II. 491–493.

Perfected Assimilation: Inhabitants of the Connecticut Valley

The inhabitants of this valley may be said in several respects to possess a common character. . . . This similarity is derived from their descent, their education, their local circumstances, and their mutual intercourse. In the older settlements most of the inhabitants are natives of the valley; and those, who are not, yield to the influence of a character, which they continually see all around them. In the more recent settlements, where greater numbers, and often a majority, were not born in this tract, the same character has regularly gained ground, and in most of them is always evident to an observing traveller.

DWIGHT, *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. II. 333.

General Assimilation: United States

A sense of the difference of group from group, of section from section, even of nationality from nationality, has been from the first delicately balanced, and kept within bounds by powerful forces of assimilation. Communication and travel have left few spots within our national domain in practical isolation. Ideas, fashions, fads, "crazes" of every description, are carried by imitation from east to west and from north to south, through the length and breadth of the land, with unfailing certainty and with astonishing rapidity. Above all, our educational methods, our complex and intense industrial life, and our democratic politics, are a solvent which foreign traditions cannot long withstand, and in which sectional prejudices cannot often become unduly acrid. There is in America a universal, a national sympathy, a national sense of kinship, and of things mental and moral in common, which binds the American people in one vast social system.

GIDDINGS, *A. P.*

Causes Entering into Assimilation

All motives and methods of conduct that have been socialized by the consciousness of kind, and thereby

converted into socializing forces, are causes of further assimilation, as the consciousness of kind itself, acting directly, also is. Coöperating with these immediate causes are others, also immediate and direct in their action, namely, (1) the extent and degree of the common stimulation, acting upon differing but assimilable individuals, and (2) the character and extent of their inter-mental action.

Extent and Degree of Common Stimulation. — Obviously if assimilable individuals, groups, or classes of individuals are continuously subjected to a great number and variety of common stimuli, their differences are inevitably worn away, and their habitual responses, becoming more and more alike, gradually mould their natures into similarity. In the assimilation of the heterogeneous elements of the American population, the extensive and continuous action of such common stimuli as climate, new economic opportunities, and new political opportunities play an important part.

Character and Extent of Inter-mental Action. — Whether communication and other modes of inter-mental action are more or less potent causes than common stimulation in furthering assimilation, it is perhaps impossible to determine. It is certain, however, that assimilation proceeds more or less rapidly and is more or less thoroughgoing, according to the extent of communication and of association, and that conflict and imitation are among the most potent and far-reaching of assimilating agencies.

Montesquieu on Causes of Assimilation

The more communicative a people are the more easily they change their habits, because each is in a greater degree

a spectacle to the other and the singularities of individuals are better observed. The climate which influences one nation to take pleasure in being communicative, makes it also delight in change, and that which makes it delight in change forms its taste.

The society of the fair sex spoils the manners and forms the taste; the desire of giving greater pleasure than others establishes the embellishments of dress; and the desire of pleasing others more than ourselves gives rise to fashions. This fashion is a subject of importance; by encouraging a trifling turn of mind, it continually increases the branches of its commerce.

MONTESQUIEU, *De l'esprit des loix*, translated by THOMAS NUGENT, Vol. I. 317–318.

1. *Social Imitation.* — The assimilating action of imitation is both simple and immediate, and, by reason of the endless conflicts and combinations of imitations, it is also extremely complicated. The imitation of examples in any way remarkable tends to overcome and to combine lesser imitations. For this reason, in each nation and in each local subdivision of a national population, certain habits, such as customs in eating, in clothing, and in amusements, are practically universal there, but are not found in other parts of the world. In every population, therefore, there may be observed a general approach to certain persistent types of action, of expression, and of character. This is the socializing process in its most subtle and efficacious mode. It is this that ultimately blends the diverse elements of the most heterogeneous population into a homogeneous type.

2. *The Persistence of Conflict.* — Conflicts among imitations arise because, refracted by their media, imitations are never perfect; and, continually undergoing modification, they tend to multiply and to subdivide and to become

differentiated. If conflicting imitations can be combined, the outcome may be an entirely new thing or mode of activity; namely, an invention. Otherwise one imitation must yield to another.

Most important of the conflicts among imitations is that between imitations of things venerable and long-standing, and the imitation of novelty. The one kind of imitation we call custom; the other we call fashion. At times custom imitation encroaches upon fashion; at other times fashion seems to encroach upon custom. While, therefore, imitation on the whole softens conflict and assimilates the unlike elements of a population, it at times becomes itself a cause of fresh conflict, and an obstacle to assimilation.

Besides these relatively mild conflicts among imitations, there remain in a population persistent causes of conflicts more serious.

First are the instincts of conquest, proper to utilization, which are kept alive by the necessity of destroying life to maintain life, and the instincts of aggression that are kept alive by the opposition always met with by individuals and by populations that develop more rapidly than others. Wherever civilization finds itself face to face with savagery, or a young and growing civilization finds itself opposed to one old and decaying, the antagonism usually is mortal.

Secondly, there are original differences of nature and of habit that have not yet been blended or neutralized by the process of assimilation.

Thirdly, occasional causes that operate with terrible effect are the failure of ordinary food supplies, as in times of famine, and any great calamity, like flood or pestilence, which demoralizes people with fear, and so far destroys

sympathy and self-sacrifice as to leave only the animal instincts of self-preservation in full activity.

3. *Toleration.* — Happily, the normal tendency of conflict is no less constructive than destructive. It effects adaptation. The fiercer kinds of strife necessarily terminate in a kind of equilibrium which we call toleration. The very strong kill off the very weak. Then the very strong in turn are overborne by the numerical superiority of the individuals of average power. The majority then left is composed of those that are too nearly equal in strength for one to hope to vanquish another, and they are obliged to live on terms of toleration that make possible the reassertion and renewed activity of the socializing motives.

4. *Subjective Toleration.* — The equilibrium nevertheless is tested from time to time, and so is maintained by frequent acts of aggression and revenge. So the causes that established toleration in the first instance tend to reëstablish it after every failure. These purely objective conditions have their subjective consequences. Coöperating with the tendency of conflict to bring about an equilibrium of strength, a conscious desire for the amelioration of strife grows into an idea of toleration, and into a wish to maintain it. There comes into existence a subjective toleration.

Assimilation through Social Imitation: Huguenot Influence in England

Although three hundred years have passed since the first religious persecutions in Flanders and France compelled so large a number of Protestants to fly from those countries and take refuge in England, and although nearly two hundred years have passed since the second great

emigration from France took place in the reign of Louis XIV., the descendants of the "gentle and profitable strangers" are still recognisable amongst us. In the course of the generations which have come and gone since the dates of their original settlement, they have laboured skilfully and diligently, for the advancement of British trade, commerce, and manufactures; while there is scarcely a branch of literature, science, or art, in which they have not honourably distinguished themselves.

Three hundred years form a long period in the life of a nation. During that time many of the distinctive characteristics of the original refugees must necessarily have become effaced in the persons of their descendants. Indeed, by far the greater number of them before long became completely Anglicised, and ceased to be traceable except by their names; and even these have for the most part become converted into names of English sound.

So long as the foreigners continued to cherish the hope of returning to their native country, on the possible cessation of the persecutions there, they waited and worked on, with that end in view. But as the persecutions only waxed hotter, they at length gradually gave up all hope of returning. They claimed and obtained letters of naturalisation; and though many of them continued for several generations to worship in their native language, they were content to live and die as English subjects. Their children grew up amidst English associations, and they desired to forget that their fathers had been fugitives and foreigners in the land. They cared not to remember the language or to retain the names which marked them as distinct from the people amongst whom they lived; and hence many of the descendants of the refugees, in the second or third generation, abandoned their foreign names, and gradually ceased to frequent the distinctive places of worship which their fathers had founded.

Indeed, many of the early Flemings had no sooner settled in England and become naturalised, than they threw off their foreign names and assumed English ones. Thus, as we have seen, Hoek, the Flemish brewer in Southwark, assumed the name of Leeke; while Haestricht, the Flemish manufacturer at Bow, took that of James.

Mr. Pryme, formerly professor of political economy in the University of Cambridge, and representative of that town in Parliament, whose ancestors were refugees from Ypres in Flanders, has informed us that his grandfather dropped the "de la" originally prefixed to the family name, in consequence of the strong anti-Gallican feeling which prevailed in this country during the Seven Years' War of 1756–63, though his son has since assumed it; and the same circumstance doubtless led many others to change their foreign names to those of an English sound.

Nevertheless, a large number of purely Flemish names are still to be found in various parts of England and Ireland, where the foreigners originally settled. They have been on the whole better preserved in the rural districts than in London, where the social friction was greater, and rubbed off the foreign peculiarities more quickly. In the lace towns of the west of England such names as Raymond, Spiller, Brock, Stocker, Groat, Rochett, and Kettel, are still common; and the same trades have continued in some of their families for generations. The Walloon Goupés, who settled in Wiltshire as clothmakers more than three hundred years since, are still known there as the Guppys, and the Thunguts as Dogoods and Toogoods.

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Among other notable Flemish immigrants may be numbered the Houblons, who gave the Bank of England its first governor, and from one of whose daughters the late Lord Palmerston was lineally descended. The Van Sittarts, Jansens, Courteens, Van Milderts, Vanlores, Corsellis, and Vanneeks were widely and honourably known in their day as London bankers or merchants. Sir Matthew Decker, besides being eminent as a London merchant, was distinguished for the excellence of his writings on commercial subjects, then little understood. He made an excellent member of Parliament; he was elected for Bishop's Castle in 1719.

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Among artists, architects, and engineers of Flemish descent we find Grinling Gibbons, the wood-sculptor;

Mark Gerrard, the portrait-painter; Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect and play-writer; Richard Cosway, R.A., the miniature-painter; and Vermuyden and Westerdyke, the engineers employed to reclaim the drowned lands in the Fens. The Tradescants, the celebrated antiquarians, were also of the same origin.

One of the most distinguished families of the Netherlands was that of the De Grotes or Groots, of which Hugo Grotius was an illustrious member. When the Spanish persecutions were at their height in the Low Countries, several of the Protestant De Grotes who were eminent merchants at Antwerp, fled from that city, and took refuge, some in England and others in Germany. Several of the Flemish De Grotes had before then settled in England. Thus, among the letters of denization mentioned in Mr. Brewer's *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, we find the following:—

"Ambrose de Grote, merchant of the Duchy of Brabant (Letters of Denization, Patent 11th of June, 1510, 2 Henry VIII).

"12 Feby., 1512–13.—Protection for one year for Ambrose and Peter de Grote, merchants of Andwarp, in Brabant, going in the retinue of Sir Gilbert Talbot, Deputy of Calais."

One of the refugee Grotes is supposed to have settled as a merchant at Bremen, from which city the grandfather of the late George Grote, the historian of Greece, came over to London early in the last century, and established a mercantile house, and afterwards a banking house, both of which flourished. Mr. Grote was also of Huguenot blood through his mother, who was descended from Colonel Blosset, commander of "Blosset's Foot," the scion of an ancient Protestant family of Touraine. He was an officer in the army of Queen Anne, and the proprietor of a considerable estate in the County of Dublin.

SAMUEL SMILES, *Huguenots in England and Ireland*, 318–320, 321–323.

The Conflict of Imitations: Alsace and Lorraine

In October of 1890 I passed through the *Reichsland.* The impression that I had formed of the country and its inhabitants was, that it was a land originally peopled by Germans that France had annexed, piece by piece, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I knew that the Alsacians in the course of several generations had become so attached to their new fatherland — especially on account of the facilities for freer trade, and the greater freedom of the individual, which, with the rest of the French, they obtained by the Revolution of 1789 — that they protested in 1871 against the annexation of their country by the Germans.

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In other words, so long as there were German-speaking people under foreign rule, Barbarossa's beard had not yet grown seven times round the stone table in the Knyphäuser. I was also under the impression that Alsace and Lorraine had been part of the Holy Roman Empire, and that several of the cities besides Strasbourg had been free cities of the Empire. I believed then that France's only claim to Alsace and Lorraine was that she had held them so long that the people had become in the course of time Gallicized so completely that, though they still spoke the ancient tongue of their German ancestors, along with that of their new country, they had by 1870 become completely French at heart.

Accordingly, as I journeyed from Bâle to Strasbourg, I was not surprised at what I heard and saw. At the stations and in the car I heard German; everywhere I saw German names and German signs. At Mulhouse a number of people got in, and three or four of them, a soldier among the number, exchanged remarks about the weather, the state of the crops, *et cetera.* The conversation lapsed. One of these men, who had been talking, and sat immediately opposite to the soldier, pulled out a newspaper, *Le Petit Journal* of Paris. Here, then, was a man to all appearances a German, who spoke to his fellow-passengers in German, reading a newspaper published on the other side of the

Vosges. At the station before reaching Strasbourg all these travellers got out, and a new set took their place. The newcomers were four — a father, a mother, a girl of about sixteen, and a small child of three or four. They appeared, like all the others, to be German. The three older members spoke to one another in German, but whenever they addressed a word to the little child, they always spoke in French. It seemed that as they knew two languages, they wished, like sensible people, to teach them both to their children. But when the conductor put in his head at the window and asked in German for their tickets, they at once spoke to him in French, and made him answer them in the same language. At the station in Strasbourg all the railroad employés were busy talking German. There was a poor woman at a news-stand reading to her child out of a book. A German officer asked her in German for the *Kölnischer Zeitung*. She answered him in the same language, and sold him the paper. She had on her table a large pile of *Le Petit Journal*, but what was more interesting was that as she opened her book again she read to her small boy in French. The cab driver, too, who drove me to the Pariserhof, took pains to speak in French. At the hotel the employés were all German by birth, and when I spoke to them in their own language, much to my astonishment, they did not once try to speak to me in English, to show me, according to the custom of European waiters, how much better they could speak my own tongue than I could theirs. On the contrary, they seemed anxious to speak in German, as if to emphasize their nationality. The next day, walking about the town, on every side I saw German names — such as Schneider and Holzmann. But in many ways it was easy to see that at heart the Strasbourgers were French. For instance, in the window of a grocery store on the Broglieplatz — all display of French flags is rigorously forbidden in the Reichsland — the storekeeper, whose name on his sign was thoroughly German, had put in a conspicuous place some white candles, between two packages of red ones, wrapped at the bottom in blue paper. It was, indeed, a dull man who did not see at once the tricolor.

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. . . My guide, as he pointed out to me the objects of interest, spoke in German, and, like every one I had seen, he looked German. By and by, when I could not quite understand something he was explaining, he said, "Perhaps you can understand French better?" "Yes," I answered. That was the end of German. He at once rattled away in French. I asked him whether he was a German or a Frenchman. "I am an Alsacian," he answered. But as he was describing the bombardment of Strasbourg and pointing out where the German batteries stood, and telling how bravely General Uhrich resisted, just after saying the Germans were many tens of thousands strong, he unconsciously disclosed his national feelings by the expression, "But *we*, militia, police, and all, were but seventeen thousand." He then told me how only German was taught in the schools, and how all the well-to-do French had left for France.

The Germans have made of Strasbourg a great intrenched camp, with outlying forts. They are doing everything they can in the way of adding to the importance and prosperity of Strasbourg — as, for example, building an imperial palace, constructing new bridges, laying out handsome streets in the unbuilt quarter, rehabilitating the ancient University — to reconcile the inhabitants to their new nationality. In 1890 there was no apparent sign to show that the Alsacians were in the least reconciled to their present position. To see a people speaking among themselves the language of their fathers, and yet bitterly opposing by all the means in their power the attempt to join them once more with that nation of whom, geographically and ethnologically, they naturally form a part, seems very strange.

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. . . At the station at Metz the employés were German; but as soon as you crossed the old fortifications of Vauban, the great military engineer of the wars of Louis the Fourteenth and Marlborough, you heard French on all sides, saw French men and women, and saw French names, such as Antoine and Jacques. The houses, too, looked very different, both in their lines and their coloring, from those of Strasbourg. The names of the streets were posted up in both languages. For instance, you read "Königsplatz," and immediately under it you saw "Place Royale." So,

too, with all official announcements. On the right hand you read the word, "Notiz," with the text underneath in the old Gothic characters, while alongside there was an "Avis," with the text below in French. It was hardly worth while to ask the reason for this use of French: it was easy to see that while a German race inhabited Strasbourg, a French people lived in Metz. At the hotel, too — Grand Hôtel de Metz — you noticed a great difference from the Pariserhof of Strasbourg. The proprietor was a Latin, not a Teuton, and, excepting the waiters in the dining-room, the employés were French. There is on the Esplanade a monument to the most famous of Napoleon's marshals — Ney. Near the cathedral, on the Place d'Armes, there stands an old statue of Marshal Fabert, governor of Metz in the time of Louis XIV.

THOMAS WILLING BALCH, *Some Facts about Alsace and Lorraine*, 2–8.

Social Equilibration

Fully to understand assimilation and its whole significance, it is necessary to remember, finally, that it is a process of social equilibration.

The social equilibrative struggle may be intense or moderate in degree, and it may assume any one of three possible modes, namely, Subjugation of the weak by the strong, Exploitation, or Assistance. The causes determining its degree and mode are (1) the extent of the consciousness of kind, and (2) the extent of intellectual as distinguished from physical conflict.

Character and Degree of the Equilibrative Struggle. — While all of the assimilating elements of a heterogeneous population modify one another, the process of assimilation, whether it consists chiefly in response to common stimulation, or chiefly in conflict, is in the last analysis a mode of equilibration, and it is therefore on the whole a transformation of the weak by the strong.

Influenced by the literature of Darwinism we have fallen into the habit of thinking of all such transformation in terms of the struggle for existence, and, therefore, as an extermination or subjugation of the weak by the strong. Conquest, however, is by no means the only or always the most important mode of equilibration. We have seen that conflict is self-limiting and tends toward ever milder modes of strife. With the establishment of a measure of toleration, conquest is usually replaced by relations between the strong and the weak which assume some form of economic exploitation.

This, however, is by no means the end of the matter. The surplus energies of the strong may be expended upon the weak without subjugating them or exploiting them. They may be expended in helping them, in endlessly varied forms of assistance. All missionary and educational enterprises, all philanthropic efforts, are as truly a transformation of the weak by the strong as are slavery, serfdom, and peonage.

Mode of Social Equilibration. — Whether in any population the prevailing mode of social equilibration is subjugation or exploitation, or whether it is assistance, is a fact determined by (1) the extent of the consciousness of kind, (2) the psychological form of prevailing conflicts and agreements, and (3) the extent of intellectual conflict.

1. *Influence of the Consciousness of Kind.* — If contending elements are conscious only of their differences, their ultimate relations can be only those of the absolute subordination of conquered to conquerors, or — if there is too close an approximation to equality of strength for one group or party to subjugate another — of exploiters to exploited. But when sympathy and understanding go forth from the

stronger to the weaker the character of the equilibrative transformation changes. The substitution of assistance for subjugation or for exploitation is a direct consequence of expanding consciousness of kind and a measure of it.

2. *Influence of the Mode of the Social Mind.* — The expansion of the consciousness of kind, however, depends greatly upon the general character of the social mind, and especially upon the prevailing psychological mode of conflict and of agreement. According to the mental development of differing or of potentially resembling individuals, their conflicts or their agreements take the form of activities predominantly ideo-motor, or predominantly ideo-emotional, or predominantly dogmatic-emotional, or predominantly deliberative. The ideo-motor minds "fight it out," the critically-intellectual minds quarrel by discussion until they arrive at a good understanding.

3. *Influence of Intellectual Strife.* — The substitution of intellectual for physical strife is necessary to an expansion of the consciousness of kind because only through the diminution of physical conflict can sympathy grow, and because also the wider consciousness of kind involves a wider understanding. But this is not all. Intellectual strife directly and positively diminishes physical strife, with all its wastefulness and misery. This it does because all intellectual activity is in its very nature deliberative. It inhibits impulse, it hinders action, it restrains motor discharge.

It is not then a duty for men and women to suppress their intellectual convictions, to yield tamely their independently thought-out views of truth, and right, and policy, in the mistaken notion that intellectual contention is disreputable, or unmannerly, or unkind, as are the forms

of physical strife. The precise opposite is our true obligation. Intellectual strife makes for rational, and ultimately for ethical, like-mindedness; it makes for peace, prosperity, and happiness. The highest duty of every rational being is to engage with sincere and disinterested earnestness in the fruitful contests of intellectual strife.

CHAPTER IV

Concerted Volition

The Nature and Rise of Concerted Volition

When individuals have become aware of their resemblances, especially of any similarities of purpose and of action, they begin consciously to combine their activities for the better realization of their common purposes.

In other words, the consciousness of kind converts a spontaneous like-response into a Concerted Volition.

Subjective Conditions. — The rapidity of the transformation, the extent to which the conversion is effected, and the forms that concerted volition assumes depend upon subjective conditions, namely, the types of mind, of disposition, and of character, and the degree of the consciousness of kind.

Objective Conditions. — The subjective factors of concerted volition can be combined only under favoring objective conditions of developed communication and of association.

The Character of Concerted Volition. — While concerted volition normally begins spontaneously, in a like-response to stimulus that may be almost unconscious, and normally develops through imperceptible stages, it is not always of such character. There may be in it a large factor of constraint.

1. *Spontaneous.* — Concerted volition must be described and classed as spontaneous if it develops naturally out of

like-response to stimulus other than command or threat backed by superior power. It is voluntary in the fullest sense of the word.

2. *Constrained.* — All concerted volition in which there is an element of reluctant submission to superior power must be classed as constrained. History abounds in examples of votes passed by ecclesiastical councils and legislative bodies in practically enforced obedience to the commands of a dictator.

The Argives' Launching of the Ships

So spake he, and stirred the spirit in the breasts of all throughout the multitude, as many as had not heard the council. And the assembly swayed like high sea-waves of the Icarian Main that east wind and south wind raise, rushing upon them from the clouds of father Zeus; and even as when the west wind cometh to stir a deep cornfield with violent blast, and the ears bow down, so was all the assembly stirred, and they with shouting hasted toward the ships; and the dust from beneath their feet rose and stood on high. And they bade each man his neighbour to seize the ships and drag them into the bright salt sea, and cleared out the launching-ways, and the noise went up to heaven of their hurrying homewards; and they began to take the props from beneath the ships.

HOMER, *The Iliad*, translated by LANG, LEAF, AND MYERS, 24–26.

Menelaus' Feast

And they came to Lacedæmon lying low among the caverned hills, and drave to the dwelling of renowned Menelaus. Him they found giving a feast in his house to many friends of his kin, a feast for the wedding of his noble son and daughter. His daughter he was sending to the son of Achilles, cleaver of the ranks of men, for in Troy he first had promised and covenanted to give her, and now the gods were bringing about their marriage. So

now he was speeding her on her way with chariot and horses, to the famous city of the Myrmidons, among whom her lord bare rule. And for his son he was bringing to his home the daughter of Alector out of Sparta, for his well-beloved son, strong Megapenthes, born of a slave woman, for the gods no more showed promise of seed to Helen, from the day that she bare a lovely child, Hermione, as fair as golden Aphrodite. So they were feasting through the great vaulted hall, the neighbours and the kinsmen of renowned Menelaus, making merry; and among them a divine minstrel was singing to the lyre, and as he began the song two tumblers in the company whirled through the midst of them.

HOMER, *The Odyssey*, translated by S. H. BUTCHER and ANDREW LANG, 48.

Wat Tyler's Rebellion

Early in the summer of 1381, less than three years after the passing of 2 Richard II., the outbreak under Wat Tyler took place. The ostensible cause was the people's dislike of the poll-tax of a groat a head, which had been imposed in 1377 upon every person of fourteen and upwards; but the public mind was then in a state fitted for the reception of any violent impulse. The train was laid, and a casual spark would ignite it. The explosion was in this instance caused by the indecent conduct of a collector of the tax towards a young female, the daughter of one Walter, a tyler, residing in the town of Dartford, who immediately with his hammer beat out the collector's brains. The bystanders applauded the action, and flew to arms, exclaiming that it was time for the people to assert their liberty, and take vengeance on their oppressors; and the flame rapidly spread throughout the country. Walter the Tyler, or "*Wat Tyler*," as commonly called, was appointed their captain, and, by the time the insurgents reached Blackheath, their number is said to have amounted to a hundred thousand. The demands made by these peasant rebels were four, —

1st. The total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever.

2d. The reduction of the rent of good land to 4*d.* the acre.

3d. The full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets.

4th. A general pardon for all past offences.

These demands would not now be all considered unreasonable, except the second, the tenor of which warrants the supposition that the insurgents did not consist of the peasantry alone, but that the inferior tenants and occupiers of land took part in the movement. The demands were at once acceded to by the young king; but the insurgents became more exacting as their numbers increased, and the commotion was at length terminated by the death of Wat Tyler in Smithfield, and by the king's putting himself at the head of the rioters when Tyler fell, and calling upon the people to follow him as their leader, which, after a little wavering, they instinctively did.

This outbreak was not confined to the counties near London, but spread nearly throughout the whole of England, and everywhere the leaders avowed similar objects. The power of the insurgents, however, fell with the dispersion of their main body at Smithfield; and although there was at first some talk of abolishing villeinage, with a view to the prevention of similar outbreaks in future, the great lords and the master class, when the danger was over, evinced little disposition to adopt a more liberal policy, either by emancipating their serfs, or relinquishing any of their old prescriptive rights. On the assembling of Parliament an act was passed (5 Richard II.) granting pardon to all who had exceeded the limit of law in repressing the late "insurrection of villeins and other offenders," and ordaining that "all manumissions, obligations, releases, and other bonds, made by compulsion, duress, and menace in the time of the late rumour and riot, shall be wholly annulled and holden for void;" and any person who should in future make or begin any such riot and rumour is declared to be a traitor to the king and to the realm. Thus ended this brief struggle for liberty on the part of the people. But although apparently fruitless at the time, it served to show the power of the masses when roused into action by any strong impulse, however sudden and unpre-

meditated. It also taught the superior orders that there were limits to their authority, and that forbearance and conciliation were necessary even for their own security — an important lesson, fraught with great benefit to the servile classes, and tending to their gradual but certain amelioration.

SIR GEORGE NICHOLLS, *History of the English Poor Law*, Vol. I, 53–54.

Crying One's Wrongs in China

Any individual who is aggrieved by the action or inaction of a Chinese official may have immediate recourse to the following method for obtaining justice, witnessed by me twice during my residence in China, and known as "crying one's wrongs."

Dressed in the grey sackcloth garb of a mourner, the injured party, accompanied by as many friends as he or she can collect together, will proceed to the public residence of the offending mandarin, and there howl and be otherwise objectionable, day and night, until some relief is given. The populace is invariably on the side of the wronged person; and if the wrong is deep, or the delay in righting it too long, there is always great risk of an outbreak, with the usual scene of house-wrecking and general violence.

H. A. GILES, *China and the Chinese*, 101–102.

Causes Affecting the Extent and the Character of Concerted Volition

The possible extent of concerted volition upon any given issue, and its character as spontaneous or constrained, are determined by the facts of mental and practical resemblance, by the kind and the strength of the stimuli of like-response, and by certain relations of stimuli and resemblances to one another.

The Relation of Concerted Volition to Mental and to Practical Resemblance. — Other things being equal, the greater the mental and practical homogeneity of a popula-

tion, the greater is the possible extent of concerted volition, and the more spontaneous is its character. Differences of language, of religion, of education, of economic standards and opportunities, and of moral standards are always serious and often effective barriers to volitional agreement.

Relation of Concerted Volition to Strength of Stimuli, in Connection with Degree of Resemblance. — The more heterogeneous a group or a population is, the stronger must be the stimuli to produce like-response and a common will. In a homogeneous group, a majority of all individuals may alike respond to varied stimuli, and the stimuli are not necessarily powerful. In the heterogeneous group, a majority of all individuals can respond in like ways to comparatively few stimuli, and these must be powerful.

Relative Extent of Response to the Four Classes of Stimuli. — Since in the heterogeneous group more individuals are alike in instincts and in motor impulses than are alike in sympathies, and more are alike in sympathies than are alike in intelligence, it normally happens that more individuals can alike respond to stimuli that appeal to motor impulse or to feeling, than can alike respond to stimuli that appeal to intelligence. The stimuli that most powerfully appeal to motor impulse are danger and menace. Among those that appeal to instinct and feeling both are bribe, gift, patronage, and payment; while the stimulus that most strongly appeals to feeling only, or to states of mind in which feeling is predominant, is the impressive power of a strong personality.

When, then, the different kinds of stimuli are substantially equal in strength, by which we must understand the degree of pain threatened, or of pleasure offered, the ideo-motor and the ideo-emotional stimuli are creative of a

wider concert of will than are the dogmatic-emotional and the critically-intellectual stimuli. In the more intelligent civilized populations, however, there has been an evolution of higher stimuli more powerful at times, and in some instances continuously, than the lower stimuli, such as danger or bribe usually are. Chief among these higher stimuli are dogmas and ideals, and not infrequently the reponse to them develops into a concerted volition far more extensive and far more energetic than any volitional agreement created by stimuli of the lower kinds. An entire nation may pursue an ideal with a strength and a persistency of common purpose surpassing popular devotion to lower aims.

Like-mindedness

When the simultaneous like-responses of a plural number of individuals have developed through the consciousness of kind into concerted volition, the total phenomenon of resemblance thus established may be called Like-mindedness. According as instinctive, sympathetic, dogmatic, or critical elements predominate in the type of mind, will the mode of the concerted volition vary from an almost instinctive action up through impulsive and contagious action into formal, or perhaps more or less fanatical, action, or ultimately into deliberative action. And, according to these variations, may the like-mindedness, as a whole, be described as Instinctive, Sympathetic, Dogmatic, or Deliberative Like-mindedness.

Instinctive Like-mindedness. — The simplest combination of the feelings, ideas, and volitions of a number of individuals is that which occurs instinctively with little or no conscious realization of what is happening.

Subjectively the basis of instinctive like-mindedness is that prompt mechanical response to stimulus which is the basis also of the ideo-motor mental type.

The objective conditions of instinctive like-mindedness are negative rather than positive. In groups of purely instinctive individuals there can be no other means of communication than those which nature provides. There must be actual meeting and an expression of mental states by voice or gesture.

Sympathetic Like-mindedness. — A higher and more complex like-mindedness is that which is predominantly sympathetic and imitative. No social phenomenon has occupied a larger place in the totality of human affairs than this.

The basis of all sympathetic like-mindedness is found in a predominance of the ideo-emotional type of mind, with its prompt response to stimulus, its emotionalism, imaginativeness, suggestibility, and habit of reasoning from analogy. Other factors are, a reciprocal consciousness of kind which is rapidly formed, a great susceptibility to emblem and shibboleth, great imitativeness, and contagious emotion.

The effectiveness and rapidity of suggestion, and both the intensity and the extent of contagious emotion, depend largely upon the means and the extent of communication, and upon the character of association. They depend also upon certain strictly physical conditions of geography and climate, which, as we have seen, may predispose social populations to emotional and impulsive action, or to calm and deliberative action. And they depend, further, upon an intellectual condition, namely, the relative proportions of ignorance and knowledge.

The character of association may annul the effect of

knowledge, and give full play to ignorance and emotional excitement.

Neither external physical conditions, nor states of the individual mind, could produce the full effects so often witnessed in impulsive social action, if there were not added to the combination a strictly social condition also, namely, the massing of men in crowds.

Characteristics of the Crowd

It is the crowd that reveals possibilities of unreason, fear, fury, and insatiable cruelty, from which even ignorant and superstitious individuals in their calmer moments would shrink back appalled. The crowd curiously resembles the undeveloped mind of the child and of the savage. Naturally, men in crowds are subject to a swift contagion of feeling that would be impossible were they dispersed, and able to communicate only slowly and with difficulty. For the same reason they are extremely sensitive to suggestion and to unnoticed influences. In crowds, men are even more likely to think in terms of symbolic images, catch words and shibboleths, than when by themselves. This, of course, is because others are continually calling their attention to symbols, and, with emotional fervour, repeating the fetichistic phrases. With the critical faculty in abeyance, men in crowds are in a state of mind to be easily deceived, to believe any wild rumour that is started, and even to become subject to hallucination. The crowd is devoid of the sense of responsibility, because, when lost in the mass, the individual loses his own feeling of responsibility, and acquires a sense of invincible power, and so gives way to impulses, which, if he were alone, he would control. Like the savage and the child, the crowd is intolerant of anything interposed between its desires and their realization, and it always manifests a tendency to carry suggested ideas immediately into action. Crowds, therefore, are mobile, and with changing excitants they are generous, heroic, or pusillanimous.

GIDDINGS, *Inductive Sociology*, 141, 142.

The Assembly of the Argives

So spake he, and led the way forth from the council, and all the other sceptred chiefs rose with him and obeyed the shepherd of the host; and the people hastened to them. Even as when the tribes of thronging bees issue from some hollow rock, ever in fresh procession, and fly clustering among the flowers of spring, and some on this hand and some on that fly thick; even so from ships and huts before the low beach marched forth their many tribes by companies to the place of assembly. And in their midst blazed forth Rumour, messenger of Zeus, urging them to go; and so they gathered. And the place of assemblage was in an uproar, and the earth echoed again as the hosts sate them down, and there was turmoil. Nine heralds restrained them with shouting, if perchance they might refrain from clamour, and hearken to their kings, the fosterlings of Zeus. And hardly at the last would the people sit, and keep them to their benches and cease from noise.

HOMER, *The Iliad*, translated by LANG, LEAF, and MYERS, 24.

The French Revolution

As for the people, to get bread fit for dogs, they must stand in a line for hours. And here they fight for it; "they snatch food from one another." There is no more work to be had; "the work-rooms are deserted;" often, after waiting a whole day, the workman returns home empty-handed, and when he does bring back a four-pound loaf it costs him 3 francs 12 sous; that is, 12 sous for the bread, and 3 francs for the lost day. In this long line of unemployed, excited men, swaying to and fro before the shop door, dark thoughts are fermenting: "if the bakers find no flour to-night to bake with, we shall have nothing to eat to-morrow." An appalling idea; — in presence of which the whole power of the Government is not too strong; for to keep order in the midst of famine nothing avails but the sight of an armed force, palpable and threatening.

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One idea alone emerges — the hope of immediate relief, the persuasion that right is on their side, the resolution to aid it with every possible means; and, consequently, an anxious waiting, a ready impulse, a tension of the will which simply stays for the opportunity to relax and launch forth like a resistless arrow towards the unknown end which will reveal itself all of a sudden. It is hunger that so suddenly marks out for them this aim: the market must be supplied with grain; the farmers and owners must bring it; wholesale buyers, whether the Government or individuals, must not transport it elsewhere; it must be sold at a low price; the price must be cut down and fixed, so that the baker can sell bread at two sous the pound; grain, flour, wine, salt, and provisions must pay no more duties; seigniorial dues and claims, ecclesiastical tithes, and royal or municipal taxes must no longer exist. On the strength of this idea disturbances broke out on all sides in March, April, and May; contemporaries "do not know what to think of such a scourge; they cannot comprehend how such a vast number of criminals, without visible leaders, agree amongst themselves everywhere to commit the same excesses just at the time when the States-General are going to begin their sittings."

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In this state of disorder, woe to those who are under suspicion of having contributed, directly or indirectly, to the evils which the people endure! At Toulon a demand is made for the head of the mayor, who signs the tax-list, and of the keeper of the records; they are trodden under foot, and their houses are ransacked. At Manosque, the Bishop of Sisteron, who is visiting the seminary, is accused of favouring a monopolist; on his way to his carriage, on foot, he is hooted and menaced: he is first pelted with mud, and then with stones. The consuls in attendance, and the subdelegate who come to his assistance, are mauled and repulsed. Meanwhile, some of the most furious begin, before his eyes, "to dig a ditch to bury him in." Protected by five or six brave fellows, he succeeds in reaching his carriage, amidst a volley of stones, wounded on the head and on many parts of his body, and is finally

saved only because the horses, which are likewise stoned, run away. Foreigners, Italians, bandits, are mingled with the peasants and artisans, and expressions are heard and acts are seen which indicate a *jacquerie*. "The most excited said to the bishop, 'We are poor and you are rich, and we mean to have all your property.'" Elsewhere, "the seditious mob exacts contributions from all people in good circumstances." At Brignolles, thirteen houses are pillaged from top to bottom, and thirty others half-pillaged. — At Aupt, M. de Montferrat, in defending himself, is killed and "hacked to pieces." — At La Seyne, the populace, led by a peasant, assemble by beat of drum; some women fetch a bier, and set it down before the house of a leading bourgeois, telling him to prepare for death, and that "they will have the honour of burying him." He escapes; his house is pillaged, as well as the bureau of the meal-tax; and, the following day, the chief of the band "obliges the principal inhabitants to give him a sum of money to indemnify, as he states it, the peasants who have abandoned their work," and devoted the day to serving the public. — At Peinier, the Président de Peinier, an octogenarian, is "besieged in his château by a band of a hundred and fifty artisans and peasants," who bring with them a consul and a notary. Aided by these two functionaries, they force the president "to pass an act by which he renounces his seigniorial rights of every description." At Sollier they destroy the mills belonging to M. de Forbin-Janson, sack the house of his business agent, pillage the château, demolish the roof, chapel, altar, railings, and escutcheons, enter the cellars, stave in the casks, and carry away everything that can be carried, "the transportation taking two days"; all of which is a damage of a hundred thousand crowns for the Marquis. — At Riez they surround the episcopal palace with fagots, threatening to burn it, "and compromise with the bishop on a promise of fifty thousand livres," and want him to burn his archives. — In short, the sedition is *social*, for it singles out for attack all who profit by, or stand at the head of, the established order of things.

TAINE, *The French Revolution*, Vol. I. 4–5, 8–9, 18–19.

The Great Religious Revival in Wales

The addition of thirty-five thousand members to the various churches has roused them to the greatest activity along all lines. But the movement reaches further: Liquor drinking has been greatly reduced in many places, and a number of taverns are closing for want of patronage. Arrests for drunkenness have been reduced fully seventy-five per cent in some towns. The theatres have been closed in the middle of the season, and many theatrical troups have abandoned the Principality. Clubs and dancing halls have been deserted. Quarrelling and profanity are heard in the streets no longer, crimes and misdemeanors are rarer, the drivers in the pits and the carters are more humane. A reformation that benefits dumb animals is complete. In the Rhondda Valley, where so many forms of vice prevailed, a great change has come. But the reformation has gone still further: Pugilists have discontinued their meetings, a football club at Abertawe has disbanded because six of its members have been converted, and even more innocent pleasures and sports have been forced to give way before the Puritan wave. A mass of unbelievers do not yet attend the meetings, but even they seem overawed, and there is a hush over little Wales.

D. WILLIAMS, *The Independent*, February 2, 1905.

Dogmatic or Formal Like-mindedness.— More complex than sympathetic like-mindedness is the like-mindedness that is dogmatically radical, or dogmatic and formal,— traditional, customary, and conservative. The minds of many individuals are simultaneously occupied with new and absorbing dogmas, which may be of the most radical description; or with beliefs, precepts, maxims, and facts of knowledge that have been handed down by preceding generations to the present, and which offer obstinate resistance to innovation in thought or conduct. In connection with a mere occupation of the mind with these

things is a simultaneous like-responsiveness to them, taking the form of attempts to put a radical programme into operation, or the form of a daily obedience to inherited precepts or rules.

The like-mindedness which is here described is either radical or conservative, while yet dogmatic in type, because its essential element is belief, and belief may be either new and innovating, or traditional and obstructive. In either case it is assertive, impatient of criticism, and little disposed to be conciliatory. To some extent, however, knowledge is combined with belief in dogmatic like-mindedness. A further subjective factor of dogmatic like-mindedness is the habit of deductive reasoning, without criticism of premises.

All this, however, depends upon the extent of communication. It depends, also, much more than might be supposed, upon the mode of communication. Emphatic and impressive assertion by word of mouth is more effective than a colourless written or printed statement in the propagation of belief. The modern newspaper, however, with its sensational headlines and authoritative tone, affects ignorant minds much as does the spoken word of a strong personality, and is an efficient agent for the propagation of baseless or questionable beliefs.

Impressively communicated from mind to mind, innumerable beliefs of individuals become common beliefs, undoubtingly accepted by entire populations. Yet further is the tendency to believe strengthened by the knowledge that not only one's contemporaries believe, but that preceding generations for ages past also have believed.

Common belief so handed down from age to age, and combined with many shreds and scraps of actual knowl-

edge becomes the great body of tradition. Questioned only by the few, and in fact to a great extent a true record of human experience, tradition acquires all the tremendous force of authority.

Forms of association, as of communication, are important objective factors in the development of dogmatic like-mindedness. As the crowd is the form of association peculiarly fitted to develop sympathetic like-mindedness, so is the formal and deferential association of the young with the old, especially in the relation of pupil to preceptor, peculiarly fitted to the development of dogmatic like-mindedness, which is, in truth, very largely a product of direct teaching and discipline.

The Tradition-loving Transylvanians

Whoever has lived among these Transylvania Saxons, and has taken the trouble to study them, must have remarked that not only seven centuries' residence in a strange land and in the midst of antagonistic races has made them lose none of their identity, but that they are, so to say, *plus Catholiques que le pape* — that is, more thoroughly Teutonic than the Germans living to-day in the original father-land. And it is just because of the adverse circumstances in which they were placed, and of the opposition and attacks which met them on all sides, that they have kept themselves so conservatively unchanged. Feeling that every step in another direction was a step towards the enemy, finding that every concession they made threatened to become the link of a captive's chain, no wonder they clung stubbornly, tenaciously, blindly to each peculiarity of language, dress, and custom, in a manner which has probably not got its parallel in history. Left on their native soil, and surrounded by friends and countrymen, they would undoubtedly have changed as other nations have changed. Their isolated position and the peculiar circumstances of their surround-

ings have kept them what they were. Like a faithful portrait taken in the prime of life, the picture still goes on showing the bloom of the cheek and the light of the eye, long after Time's destroying hand, withering the original, has caused it to lose all resemblance to its former self; and it is with something of the feeling of gazing at such an old portrait that we contemplate these German people who dress like old bass-reliefs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and continue to hoard up provisions within the church walls, as in the days when besieged by Turk or Tartar. Such as these Saxons wandered forth from the far west to seek a home in a strange land, such we find them again to-day, seven centuries later, like a corpse frozen in a glacier, which comes to light unchanged after a long lapse of years.

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This defensive attitude towards strangers which pervades the Saxons' every word and action makes it, however, difficult to feel prepossessed in their favor. Taken in the sense of antiquities, they are no doubt an extremely interesting people, but viewed as living men and women, not at first sight attractive to a stranger; and while compelling our admiration by the solid virtues and independent spirit which have kept him what he is, the Saxon peasant often shows to disadvantage beside his less civilized, less educated, and also less honest neighbor, the Roumanian.

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Although the Saxons talk of Germany as their fatherland, yet their patriotic feeling is by no means what we are accustomed to understand by that word. Their attachment to the old country would seem rather to be of prosaic than romantic sort. "We attach ourselves to the German nation and language," they say, endeavoring to explain the complicated nature of their patriotism, "because it offers us the greatest advantages of civilization and culture; we should equally have attached ourselves to any other nation which offered us equal advantages, whether that nation had happened to be Hungarian, French, or Chinese. If the Hungarians had happened to be more civilized than ourselves, we should have been amalgamated with them long ago."

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There is one village in Transylvania which, isolated in the midst of a Hungarian population, offers an instance of a more complex species of nationality than any I have yet heard of. This is the village of Szass Lorea, near Klausenburg, which used to be Saxon, but where the people have gradually forgotten their own mother-tongue and can only speak Hungarian. There is, however, no drop of Hungarian blood in their veins, as they marry exclusively among themselves; and they have retained alike the German type of feature and the national Saxon dress intact in all its characteristics. Also the family names throughout the village are German ones — as Hindrik, Tod, Jäger, Hubert, etc.

Though none of these people can speak a word of German, and no one can remember the time when German was spoken in the village, yet during the revolution of 1848 these Hungarian-speaking Germans rose to a man to fight against the Magyars.

The Saxon dialect — totally distinct from modern German — has, I am told, most resemblance to the *patois* spoken by the peasants near Luxemburg. It is harsh and unpleasant to the ear, but has in some far-off and indefinable way a certain caricatured likeness to English. Often have I been surprised into turning round sharply in the street to see who could be speaking English behind me, only to discover two Saxon peasants comparing notes as to the result of their marketing.

The language, however, differs considerably in different neighborhoods; and a story is told of natives of two different Saxon villages, who, being unable to understand one another, were reduced to conversing in Roumanian.

E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, 31–32, 33, 34.

Shaker Doctrine and Discipline

In the year 1798, he [Thomas Brown] first became acquainted with the Shakers; and continued with them about seven years. During this period he appears to have examined everything, which he heard, or saw, relative to the Shakers, their doctrines, their practice, their origin, and their progress, with great care and candour; and the result

of his investigations he has given to the world in this book.

To enable you to form a more just and comprehensive view of this extraordinary society, I will give you an account of some of their opinions, and practices, as they are exhibited by Mr. Brown.

Two of their prime doctrines are, that *all the members of the church must be implicitly obedient to the direction of the elders, and the subordinate elders to the principal;* and

That *repeated confessions of sin to the elders, confessions, in which every sin that was remembered must be specified, are from time to time to be made by every believer, whenever the superior elders require them.* A strict conformity to these doctrines they consider as indispensable to salvation.

The chief is possessed of an authority, which seems absolutely despotic.

The elders, particularly the chief, assert that they receive, and by the brethren are believed to receive, continually, immediate revelations from God, for the direction of both themselves and the church.

They pronounce themselves, and the believers pronounce them, infallible.

The elders expect, that the time will arrive, when creatures will not dare to contradict the gift of God; *i.e.* when men will not dare to contradict them, their opinions, or their orders.

The elders require implicit faith, and passive obedience, of the brethren, on penalty of perdition; and deny absolutely the right of private judgment.

They hold, that it is lawful to do that which is immoral, or which in their own views would otherwise be immoral, for the sake of promoting their cause; and that what is done for this purpose ceases to be immoral. Thus they esteem it lawful to lie, to defraud, and to quote scripture falsely, for the good of the church; and for the same end to get drunk, to quarrel, and to use profane language. Whether this is considered as being equally lawful for both the elders and the brethren, seems in some degree uncertain. The instances, in which it was directly taught, were those, in which the doctrine was advanced for the purpose of justifying crimes, which had been already com-

mitted by the elders. They also teach, that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

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They declare that they have visions of the invisible world; that spirits converse with them; that they hear angels, and departed spirits sing; and that angels and departed spirits confess their sins to the chief elders.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. III. 163.

Deliberative Like-mindedness. — The highest and most complex mode of concerted volition is deliberative like-mindedness, which is characterized by critical thinking, and moderate, well-coördinated action.

The essential subjective factors in deliberative like-mindedness are criticism, argument, discussion, and constructive reasoning, based upon inductive research, all combined in public opinion.

Belief is essentially emotional; judgment is a product of critical thinking, and is essentially intellectual. Deliberation begins when belief is assailed by doubt. Only then, and after passing through an experience of questioning and uncertainty, does the individual arrive at judgments for which he can give reasons, rather than at convictions which he merely feels.

The process by which doubt is created, criticism is instituted, and judgments are arrived at in society, is called discussion. In discussion, conflicting beliefs are compared, analyzed, and subjected to argument. So long as men accept as true everything that they hear repeated, or that they themselves are prone to believe, their talk is not to be described as discussion. It becomes discussion only when some one disputes or denies, and thereby compels

those who assert to give reasons or to advance arguments in support of what they affirm.

The substantial basis of all constructive reasoning, in turn, is the well-verified knowledge that is accumulated by inductive research. The dogmatic and speculative mind may be critical of logical processes, while accepting the premises of its reasoning on faith or from authority. The truly deliberative mind examines premises no less than logical processes. It is ever observing, analyzing, and classifying facts, generalizing from facts, and reconstructing theories in the light of objective truth.

Finally, inductively established knowledge and the judgments arrived at through discussion are combined in public opinion. No error is more common than one which confounds popular beliefs with the social judgments that constitute true public opinion. Only when two or more individuals, each of whom is capable of subjecting his ideas and inherited beliefs to a critical examination, come to the same conclusion, so that their critically tested judgments are identical, is the result a rational like-mindedness, and properly to be spoken of as public opinion.

Another way of stating the same truth is to say that public opinion comes into existence only when a sympathetic like-mindedness, or an agreement in belief, is subjected to criticism, started by some sceptical individual who doubts the truth of the belief, or the wisdom of the agreement; and an opinion is then thought out, to which many communicating minds can yield their intellectual assent. In any community public opinion develops exactly to the extent that free discussion develops, exactly to the extent that men are in the habit of asking searching questions and compelling one another to prove their assertions.

That the subjective factors of criticism and discussion may combine with constructive reasoning in true public opinion, there must prevail, not only a highly developed system of communication, but also perfect freedom of speech and of public meeting.

Wherever men are forbidden by governmental or other authority to speak or to write freely, or wherever they stand in fear of losing social position, or employment, or property, if they freely speak their minds, there is no true public opinion; there is only a mass of traditional beliefs, or an outburst of popular feeling.

Equally necessary is freedom of meeting upon the initiative of private individuals.

If men are forbidden by governmental authority to assemble in an orderly manner, or if — as was true in England down nearly to the nineteenth century — they can assemble only upon the call of some public functionary, there can be no public discussion, and therefore no true public opinion.

No less essential, however, to deliberate social decision, is the alternation of meeting and discussion with separation. The crowd must occasionally disperse. Its individual members must be brought under new influences.

This truth is simply a more complicated case of that psychological fact, already noted, that rational thinking consists in the interposition of new ideas between stimulation and the consequent muscular action. The tendency of the crowd, as we have seen, is to react instantly as a unit upon any suggestion, just as the tendency of non-rational man is to expend his nervous energy in reflex action. In the individual, this process is interrupted by any new idea or suggestion. In the crowd, it is interrupted

when dispersion and separation bring the individual members under new influences.

Mazzini's Republican Movement

It was under such auspices that the Society of Young Italy was founded. The general drift of the principles of that Society has already been sufficiently indicated in the account of Mazzini's meditations in the fortress of Savona. It was to make Italy free, united, Republican, recognizing duty to God and man as the basis of national life, rather than the mere assertion of rights. But the great point which distinguished it from all the other societies which had preceded it was that, instead of trusting to the mysterious effect of symbols, and the power of a few leaders to induce the main body of Italians blindly to accept their orders, it openly proclaimed its creed before the world, and even in the articles of association set forth the full arguments on which it grounded the defense of the special objects which it advocated. And the principles were further to be preached in a journal which was to be called, like the Society, "Giovine Italia."

But while he put forward a definitely Republican programme, Mazzini never fell into the French mistake of thinking that a knot of men, monopolizing power to themselves, can, by merely calling themselves Republicans, make the government of a nation a Republic. While he fully hoped, by education, to induce the Italians to accept a Republican Government, he was quite prepared to admit the possibility of failure in that attempt, and to accept the consequences as a consistent democrat. This is distinctly stated in the first plan of Young Italy.

C. E. MAURICE, *Revolutions of* 1848–9 *in Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany*, 67–68.

The Referendum in Switzerland

The rights of the people with regard to the Federal Constitution are set forth in Articles 118–123 of the Constitution of the 29th May 1874, as recast by the Federal decree of the 8th April 1891.

The articles relating to the revision of the constitution are as follows: —

Art. 118. — The Federal Constitution may at any time be *wholly* or *partially* amended.

Art. 119. — A *total* revision is effected through the forms required for passing federal laws.

Art. 120. — When either house of the Federal Assembly passes a resolution for the *total* revision of the constitution and the other council does not agree, or when 50,000 Swiss voters demand a *total* revision, the question whether the constitution ought to be amended is in either case submitted to the Swiss people, who vote Yes or No.

If in either case the majority of the Swiss citizens who vote pronounce in the affirmative, there shall be a new election of both councils for the purpose of undertaking the revision.

Art. 121. — A partial revision may take place by means of the popular initiative, or through the forms prescribed for ordinary federal legislation. The popular initiative consists in a demand by 50,000 Swiss voters for the addition of a new article to the constitution, or the repeal or modification of certain constitutional articles already in force.

When the popular initiative is used for the purpose of amending or inserting various articles in the Federal Constitution each modification or addition must form the subject of a separate initiative demand.

The demand by initiative may be presented in the form of a proposal in general terms, or as a bill complete in all its details.

When a demand is couched in general terms, and the Federal Assembly approves it in substance, it is the duty of that body to draw up a partial revision in the sense of the petitioners, and to refer it to the cantons for acceptance or rejection.

If the Federal Assembly does not approve the proposal, then the question whether there shall be a partial revision or not must be submitted to the vote of the people; and if the majority of Swiss citizens taking part in the vote express themselves in the affirmative, the revision shall be undertaken by the Federal Assembly, in conformity with the popular decision.

When a demand is presented in the form of a bill complete in all its details, and the Federal Assembly approve it, the bill shall be referred to the people and the cantons for acceptance or rejection.

In case the Federal Assembly does not agree, that body may draft a bill of its own, or move that the people reject the demand; and it may submit its own bill or proposal for rejection to the vote of the people at the same time as the bill emanating from the popular initiative.

Art. 122. — A federal law shall determine more precisely the manner of procedure in the case of demands by popular initiative and in the votings on amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Art. 123. — The revised Federal Constitution, or the revised part thereof, shall take effect when it has been adopted by the majority of Swiss citizens who take part in the vote thereon and by a majority of the states.

In making up the majority of the cantons the vote of a half canton is counted as half a vote.

The result of the popular vote in each canton is considered to be the vote of the canton.

S. Deploige, *The Referendum in Switzerland*, 124–126.

Relative Extent of Each Mode of Like-mindedness. — In animal bands, in the endogamous hordes of the lowest savagery, in certain small and very ignorant rural neighbourhoods in modern populations, the predominant like-mindedness is instinctive, but slightly modified by sympathetic tendencies. The higher savagery and slum populations in general are predominantly sympathetic. Barbarian populations are predominantly sympathetic, with a strong tendency toward the development of dogmatic like-mindedness. Modern civilized populations also are sympathetic and dogmatic, with an increasing development of deliberative like-mindedness.

Causes of the Relative Extent of Each of the Four Modes of Like-mindedness. — Explanation of the relative extent of

each of the four modes of like-mindedness is found in the laws of least effort and of diminishing return.

Elementary and primitive like-mindedness are instinctive, and the like-mindedness in which a majority of individuals in even the more advanced populations are competent to participate, is sympathetic and impulsive for the obvious reason that sympathy and impulse are less difficult than deliberation and rational control. In like manner, conformity to a course of conduct once entered upon, uncritical obedience of authority, uncritical acceptance of belief, are far easier than independent judgment. Consequently, formal like-mindedness and conformity to an established order are more general than true public opinion and rational social choice.

Under these conditions rational social choice occurs at all only because we are compelled from time to time to vary our means of satisfaction. Sympathetic and formal like-mindedness yield diminishing returns. Impulsive social action frequently proves to be enormously costly and destructive. Formal like-mindedness, conformity to traditional belief and authority, carry us a long way toward the attainment of social and material satisfactions. But beyond a certain point they bar further progress. They stand in the way of the further exploitation of new means of satisfaction. When this point is reached, further activity in the line of least effort is necessarily rational. It is the attempt to secure satisfactions after direct means have failed. And this process itself, in further accordance with the law of least effort, before it becomes general begins in those relatively gifted minds to which it is least irksome. For this reason, rational social choice, the formation of true public opinion, and

the rational leadership of social activity are, and must always continue to be, the function of the few.

Laws of Concerted Volition

Doubtless most of the laws of concerted volition, formulating its more complicated phenomena, remain to be discovered by precise inductive study. From such crude inductive studies as have already been made by statisticians, historians, and psychologists, certain rather general laws may provisionally be formulated.

Impulsive social action tends to extend and to intensify in a geometrical progression.

Impulsive social action varies inversely with the habit of attaining ends by indirect and complex means.

Tradition is authoritative and coercive in proportion to its antiquity.

Tradition is authoritative and coercive in proportion as its subject-matter consists of belief rather than of critically established knowledge.

In all social choice, the most influential ideals are those of the forceful man, the powerful community, of virtue in the primitive sense of the word; second in influence are ideals of the convivial man, the prosperous and pleasure-loving community, the utilitarian or hedonistic virtues; third in influence are ideals of the austere man, the righteous or just community, the Stoic or Puritan virtues of self-restraint; fourth in influence are the ideals of the rationally conscientious man, of the liberal and enlightened community, of the virtues of reasonableness, broad-mindedness, and charity; but if mental evolution continues, the higher ideals become increasingly influential.

A population that has only a few interests, which, how-

ever, are harmoniously combined, is conservative in its choices. A population that has varied interests, which are as yet inharmoniously combined, is radical in its choices. Only the population that has many, varied, and harmoniously combined interests is consistently progressive in its choices.[1]

Coöperation

Concerted volition itself, as distinguished from its subjective and objective conditions, is always a form of coöperation.

The Nature of Coöperation. — Not all like-response, however, can be described as coöperation. Like-response may result in nothing useful or even tangible. It may end in an aimless activity, or in mere uproar and confusion. It is coöperation only if the like activities of the similarly responding individuals are by some means correlated and brought to bear upon some particular work or task which is necessary or useful, or which, at any rate, is supposed to be useful.

The necessary correlation may be brought about by other means than a conscious planning by the coöperating individuals. Certain correlations result from the mere mechanical laws of motion. Some of these may prove to be useful, although no use was consciously anticipated. Useful correlations may be preserved by natural selection, and become instinctive. Such coöperation may be described as unconscious coöperation.

In conscious coöperation like-activities are correlated and directed upon some useful achievement through conscious planning. This kind of coöperation is a mode of con-

[1] For a full statement of considerations in support of these generalizations, consult Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, 179–180.

certed volition, and, practically, all concerted volition is conscious coöperation.

The Causes of Coöperation. — Not only must mental and practical resemblance precede all coöperation, and the consciousness of kind precede conscious coöperation, but also, if they exist, the coöperation necessarily follows.

Like-responsiveness to stimulus shades so gradually into coöperation that it is often difficult to discover at what point the coöperation begins. Where, for instance, does it begin in the pursuit of a thief on the street? The question is obviously one of degrees or stages of responsiveness, as, by degrees, like-activities are correlated and directed upon a particular end or achievement.

The Order of Motives. — Among individuals mentally and practically alike, coöperation, beginning in spontaneous like-response to common stimulation, is further developed, because it yields to the coöperating individuals the same kind of pleasure.

1. *Precedence of Immediate Pleasure.* — The initial pleasure of coöperation is not that which is afforded by the remoter utilities, such as an abundance of food, or security against danger, in which the coöperation presently results; it is the immediate pleasure of combined activity; the pleasurable reaction of concerted physical and mental excitement.

2. *Genesis of the Utilitarian Motive.* — Thus begun and partially developed, coöperation is yet further developed and perfected because the remoter utilities which it creates are by its resembling participants regarded in like ways. If a particular mode of coöperation produces an unwonted abundance of food supplies, or establishes a degree of security hitherto unknown, the individuals who have en-

gaged in coöperative activity because of their mental and practical resemblance and their consciousness of kind, necessarily see and interpret the results in substantially the same way; they reason in substantially the same way about the desirability of perpetuating and increasing such results by a further extension of their coöperation.

3. *Causes Determining the Order of Motives.* — It is unnecessary to argue that immediate pleasure appeals to the mind more directly than considerations of remoter utility. There is a vast amount of coöperation, for example, in play, games, sports, and festivals, in which immediate pleasure rather than remoter utility is the motive. The mind here simply follows the law of activity in the direction of least effort. When immediate pleasure begins to be a diminishing return, the mind reaches out with new effort to discover and to obtain the possible remoter utilities.

The Forms of Coöperation. — Coöperation develops into various forms and through successive stages of complication step by step with the development of successive modes of mental and practical resemblance, and of the consciousness of kind.

It may be simple and direct, as where neighbours help each other in planting or harvesting; simple and indirect, as in barter, or more highly developed exchange; complex, where the direct and the indirect forms are combined, as in manufacturing operations; and highly complicated, as in the modern business world, where complex forms enter into further combinations, and where these, in turn, enter into that greater coöperation of industrial with political, educational, religious, and pleasurable enterprises, which together make up the entire activity of modern communities.

Causes of the Diversification of the Forms of Coöperation. — The extension of coöperation from its simple beginnings to these complicated higher forms obviously depends upon an extension of genuine mental and practical resemblance throughout the population, and a corresponding expansion of the consciousness of kind. The particular points of resemblance that are most essential to the higher forms of coöperation are those which enter into what we call good faith; and a common belief throughout the community in the general good faith of the individuals composing society is the particular form of the consciousness of kind that also is essential.

The diversification of coöperation is a consequence of diminishing returns. New experiments are made and new forms arise as the older ones fail to yield proportionate reward to increasing effort.

Extent of Coöperation. — The number of persons similarly responding to any given stimulus, and, therefore, the group of possible coöperators in a given work, may not exceed a small fraction of an entire natural society; it may be a large fraction, or it may include all members of the entire social population.

Public and Private Coöperation. — The coöperation of all individual members of an entire natural society constitutes what we are in the habit of calling public activity, or public coöperation. And an entire natural society, viewed as coöperating, is a state.

When only a part of the social population responds to the same stimulus, and engages in coöperation without the participation or command of the public, although not without the tacit or implied consent of the state, we speak of the coöperation as private or voluntary.

Burning the Prairie Dead Grass

Every year, in the course of the months of March or April, the inhabitants set fire to the grass, which at that time is dried up, and through its extreme length, would conceal from the cattle a fortnight or three weeks longer the new grass, which then begins to spring up. This custom is nevertheless generally censured; as, being set on fire too early, the new grass is stripped of the covering that ought to shelter it from the spring and frosts, and in consequence of which its vegetation is retarded. The custom of burning the meadows was formerly practised by the natives, who came in this part of the country to hunt; in fact, they do it now in the other parts of North America, where there are *savannas* of an immense extent. Their aim in setting fire to it is to allure the stags, bisons, etc., into the parts which are burnt, where they can discern them at a greater distance. Unless a person has seen these dreadful conflagrations, it is impossible to form the least idea of them. The flames, that occupy generally an extent of several miles, are sometimes driven by the wind with such rapidity, that the inhabitants, even on horseback, have become a prey to them. The American sportsmen and the savages preserve themselves from this danger by a very ingenious method; they immediately set fire to the part of the meadow where they are, and then retire into the space that is burnt, where the flame that threatened them stops for the want of nourishment.

The Journal of André Micheaux, 1793, edited by THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. III. 221–222.

Public Coöperation

It is not necessary to the conception of the state to suppose the active participation of each individual in every common task, or to suppose that the common response to stimulus is immediate and direct. In many instances the coöperation may be passive rather than active; in many instances response may be indirect. It is sufficient if the

like-response to a common stimulus is adequate to assure the passive assent, or to prevent the resistance of those individuals whose coöperation does not assume the active mode. And it is sufficient if, in many instances, the like-response is immediate and direct among a few individuals only, if these have the power to compel the obedience or otherwise to secure the coöperation of all others.

Sovereignty. — We arrive here at the phenomenon of Sovereignty. In other words, that coöperation of an entire social population which constitutes it a state is largely effected through complicated relations of coöperation between sovereign and subjects.

According to the accepted conception of sovereignty, any individual, group or class of coöperating individuals, or entire coöperating people, having the disposition and the power to exact, and, in fact, exacting obedience from all individuals in the social population, is a sovereign; and all individuals who obey a sovereign — be that sovereign a person, a class, or a people — are subjects; while sovereign and subjects together in their normal relation of authority and obedience are a state.

This conception of sovereignty is demonstrably inadequate and even inaccurate. There has never yet existed in any human society any power that could, or continuously and under all circumstances did, compel the obedience of all individual members of that society, or even successfully punish all for disobedience. The accepted conception is an approximately true picture of sovereignty under one particular grouping of social conditions. Social psychology and the facts of history yield other conceptions, each approximately true for some given stage of social evolution.

What, for instance, is the true nature of sovereignty in

a community where nearly all individuals most of the time actually yield loyal obedience to a supreme political person, a monarch, or a dictator? This supreme political person has no power to compel the obedience of his subjects if they choose to defy his commands. Yet he has a power that is real, and it is a development of one of the fundamental and universal phenomena of social psychology. He has the power to *command* obedience. This is from every point of view, psychological and practical, a wholly different thing from the power to compel. It is the power of impression rather than of physical force, but it achieves the same end: it secures the obedience. In most of the nations of the world, throughout the greater part of their history, sovereignty has been in fact a personal power to command obedience.

There is a form of political society in which the real sovereign is a superior class, an aristocracy. This class is descended from a group of conquerors that for a time retained and exercised an actual power to compel the obedience of the conquered. But it tends to become a relatively small minority until, presently, it could readily be overthrown if the people rose against it. Instead of rebelling, however, they continue to yield obedience. They yield to a power which dominates them through their deference to wealth, through their homage to superior mind, and through the assent of their minds to beliefs and dogmas, above all, to tradition. Fortified by religion and all the authority of tradition, the superior class *exacts* the obedience which it would be powerless, were resort made to physical force, to compel.

There have been occasions, recurring throughout history, when the masses of the people, aroused to opposition and

compacted by revolutionary madness into infuriated mobs, have become, for the time being, a resistless physical power. These have been occasions and circumstances under which, as after conquest, sovereignty has been in fact a power to *compel* obedience. No individual, class, or group has been able to resist or withstand it.

Finally, there have been in the past, and are now, political communities in which practically all men have contributed or contribute, through discussion and voluntary conduct, to the creation of a general purpose or policy; and in which practically all men yield or have yielded assent to a general will. This general will might command, exact, or compel a vast deal of individual obedience, but, actually, it does something different and higher. It *evokes* obedience. Appealing to reason and to conscience, it calls forth an obedience that is rendered freely and with full understanding that it is a reasonable and unforced service.

Instead, then, of one universal mode of sovereignty in political society, sociology, surveying past and existing societies comparatively, and guided by the facts of social psychology, discovers four distinct modes of sovereignty, presented by different stages of social evolution; namely, first, Personal Sovereignty, or the power of the strong personality to *command* obedience; second, Class Sovereignty, or the power of the mentally and morally superior, with the aid of religion and tradition, to *inspire* obedience or through control of wealth to *exact* obedience; third, Mass Sovereignty, or the power of an emotionally and fanatically solidified majority to *compel* obedience; and, fourth, General Sovereignty, or the power of an enlightened, deliberative community to *evoke* obedience through a rational appeal to intelligence and conscience.

The Sovereignty of Arthur

In the yere of Christ, 517, king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, having subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof under his subjection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldavius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily unto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelve yeres.

GALFRIDUS MONUMETENSIS, *Historie of the Kings of Britaine*, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Edition of 1903, Vol. I. 3–4.

The Rise of Class Sovereignty

The ancient city, like all human society, had ranks, distinctions, and inequalities. We know the distinction originally made at Athens between the Eupatrids and the Thetes; at Sparta we find the class of Equals and that of the Inferiors; and in Eubœa, that of the Knights and that of the People. The history of Rome abounds in struggles between the Patricians and Plebeians, as does that of all the Sabine, Latin, and Etruscan cities. It can even be said that the farther back we go in the history of Greece and Italy, the more profound and the more strongly marked the distinction appears — a positive proof that the inequality did not grow up with time, but that it existed from the beginning, and that it was contemporary with the birth of cities.

It is worth while to inquire upon what principles this division of classes rested. We can thus the more easily see by virtue of what ideas or what needs the struggles commenced, what the inferior classes demanded, and on what principles the superior classes defended their empire.

We have seen that the city grew out of the confederation of families and of tribes. Before the day on which

the city was founded, the family already contained within itself this distinction of classes. Practically, the family was never dismembered; it was indivisible, like the primitive religion of the hearth. The oldest son alone, succeeding the father, took possession of the priesthood, the property, and the authority, and his brothers were to him what they had been to their father. From generation to generation, from first-born to first-born, there was never but one family chief. He presided at the sacrifice, repeated the prayer, pronounced judgment, and governed. To him alone originally belonged the title of *pater;* for this word, which signified power, and not paternity, could be applied only to the chief of the family. His sons, his brothers, his servants, all called him by this title.

Here, then, in the constitution of the family itself is the first principle of inequality. The oldest is the privileged one for the worship, for the succession, and for the command. After several centuries, there were naturally formed, in each of these great families, younger branches, that were, according to religion and by custom, inferior to the older branch, and who, living under its protection, submitted to its authority.

This family, then, had servants, who did not leave it, who were hereditarily attached to it, and over whom the *pater*, or *patron*, exercised the triple authority of master, magistrate, and priest. They were called by names that varied with the locality: the more common names were Clients and Thetes.

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We must now point out another element of the population, which was below the clients themselves, and which, originally low, insensibly acquired strength enough to break the ancient social organization. This class, which became more numerous at Rome than in any other city, was there called the *plebs*. We must know the origin and character of this class to understand the part it played in the history of the city, and of the family, among the ancients. The plebeians were not the clients; the historians of antiquity do not confound these two classes.

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What constituted the peculiar character of the plebs was, that they were foreign to the religious organization of the city, and even to that of the family. By this we recognize the plebeian, and distinguish him from the client. The client shared at least in the worship of his patron, and made a part of the family and of the gens. The plebeian, at first, had no worship, and knew nothing of the sacred family.

FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *La Cité Antique*, 289–291, 295, 296.

Mass Sovereignty in China

I will conclude with a case which came under my own personal observation, and which first set me definitely on the track of democratic government in China.

In 1882 I was vice-consul at Pagoda Anchorage, a port near the famous Foochow Arsenal, which was bombarded by Admiral Courbet in 1884. My house and garden were on an eminence overlooking the arsenal, which was about half a mile distant. One morning, after breakfast, the head official servant came to tell me there was trouble at the arsenal. A military mandarin, employed there as superintendent of some department, had that morning early kicked his cook, a boy of seventeen, in the stomach, and the boy, a weakly lad, had died within an hour. The boy's widowed mother was sitting by the body in the mandarin's house, and a large crowd of workmen had formed a complete ring outside, quietly awaiting the arrival and decision of the authorities.

By five o'clock in the afternoon, a deputy had arrived from the magistracy at Foochow, twelves miles distant, empowered to hold the usual inquest on behalf of the magistrate. The inquest was duly held, and the verdict was "accidental homicide."

In shorter time than it takes me to tell the story, the deputy's sedan-chair and paraphernalia of office were smashed to atoms. He himself was seized, his official hat and robe were torn to shreds, and he was bundled unceremoniously, not altogether unbruised, through the back door and through the ring of onlookers, into the paddy-fields beyond. Then the ring closed up again, and a low,

threatening murmur broke out which I could plainly hear from my garden. There was no violence, no attempt to lynch the man; the crowd merely waited for justice. That crowd remained there all night, encircling the murderer, the victim, and the mother. Bulletins were brought to me every hour, and no one went to bed.

Meanwhile the news had reached the viceroy, and by half-past nine next morning the smoke of a steam launch was seen away up the bends of the river. This time it bore the district magistrate himself, with instructions from the viceroy to hold a new inquest.

At about ten o'clock he landed, and was received with respectful silence. By eleven o'clock the murderer's head was off and the crowd had dispersed.

H. A. GILES, *China and the Chinese*, 104–106.

Causes and Conditions Determining the Prevailing Mode of Sovereignty. — The foregoing analysis of sovereignty has revealed the essentially psychological nature of the phenomenon. A mode of sovereignty is a mode of the social mind, and as such is determined by the general mental development of the population.

More specifically, the mode of sovereignty found in a given community at any given time is determined by the type of mind and the mode of like-mindedness then and there prevailing.

The submission of one will to another will, and consequently the obedience yielded by the mentally inferior to the mentally superior, is on the whole an instinctive act. Reason plays little part in it. It is found throughout the animal kingdom, as among men. It occurs almost unconsciously, as does instinctive action of every kind. The individual who participates in it does not know why he surrenders his own mind to another more powerful. He does it as a dog crouches and fawns. In brief, the power to command obedience is a

characteristic product of ideo-motor mentality. And personal sovereignty is found in an ideo-motor population.

Class sovereignty, or the power to exact obedience, is correlated with a slightly higher grade of mentality, namely, the ideo-emotional. It is a product of sympathetic like-mindedness. The superior class, making its appeal to reverence, to sentiment, or to the love of splendour, addresses the feelings rather than the underlying instincts or the overlying intelligence.

Mass sovereignty depends not only upon emotion, but also upon dogma. It is an expression of dogmatic like-mindedness. To create it, emotion must be raised to a high pitch, and focussed by dogmas made efficient through symbols, partisan cries, and fetichistic emblems. A people dogmatically like-minded for a longer or a shorter time becomes more or less fanatical, and its fanaticism, fixed upon definite objects, is a chief bond, holding great numbers of individuals in a state that may approach a frenzied intolerance of disobedience.

Finally, that most complex phenomenon, a general sovereignty, can appear only in a community of the generally intelligent, who discuss all public questions in a rational way, and bring about a concert of wills through an exploitation of ideas, rather than through an explosion of feeling or an uncontrolled activity of a merely instinctive sort. General sovereignty is a product of deliberation, that is to say, of rational like-mindedness.

Government. — The supreme will of a state, in whatever mode of sovereignty manifested, expresses itself and achieves its ends in various ways, but chiefly through Government, which may be defined as the requisition, direction, and organization of obedience.

The sovereign may govern directly, or may delegate the function of governing to authorized ministers or agents.

Direct government by a personal sovereign, or by a sovereign class, is rule by a minority of the population. Direct government by a sovereign mass is rule by a majority, or by a large and powerful plurality of the population. Direct self-government by a deliberating sovereign people is rule by a plurality or by a majority of the population.

Delegated authority to govern may be vested in either a minority or a majority.

Direct government by the sovereign is necessarily an absolute rule, since the will of the sovereign is the supreme will. A personal, or class, sovereign, governing directly, rules absolutely, and such government by such a sovereign may be described as absolute minority rule. A mass sovereign, governing directly, governs absolutely, and such government by such a sovereign may be described as absolute majority rule.

Indirect or delegated government may be an absolute or a limited rule, according to the extent of the authority delegated by the sovereign.

A personal, class, mass, or general sovereign may delegate to a minister, or to a ministerial body, authority to govern unconditionally. That is to say, either may institute absolute minority rule. A sovereign mass, or a sovereign people, may delegate to a majority authority to govern unconditionally. That is to say, either mass or people may institute absolute majority rule.

On the other hand, a personal, class, mass, or general sovereign may delegate to a minister, or to a ministerial

body, authority to govern conditionally and within prescribed limits. That is to say, it may institute a limited minority rule. A sovereign mass, or a sovereign people, may delegate to a majority authority to govern conditionally and within limits. That is to say, either mass or people may institute a limited majority rule.

There are, then, four fundamental types of government disclosed in the foregoing possibilities, and actually seen among men. They are, namely, Absolute Minority Rule, Limited Minority Rule, Absolute Majority Rule, and Limited Majority Rule.

Limited Minority Rule: Silesia

BERLIN, 24th February 1801.

The object of this letter will be to give you an idea of the political constitution of the province of Silesia. By the word constitution, I do not here understand what commonly goes by that name in our country. The supreme power in this, as in the other Prussian provinces, is in the hands of a single person: it is a simple monarchy; but it is governed by permanent laws, with regular forms; and the various classes of inhabitants have privileges which every king, upon receiving their homage, promises to protect and maintain.

The inhabitants of Silesia are discriminated in three classes, by the names of nobles, citizens (or rather townsmen), and peasants. The nobility consist of the proprietors of the mediate principalities. You will remember to have seen in my former letters that the province was parcelled out, when under the Polish government, into nearly twenty distinct principalities, held by various descendants of the Piast family; and that under the Bohemian dominion these principalities escheated to the crown, whenever the branch of the family which respectively held them became extinct. In process of time this happened to them all; but some of the principalities have ever since been held as appendages to the Bohemian, and now to the Prussian,

sceptre; while others, after the extinction of the Piasts, were granted to other families. Hence the distinction prevailing at this day between the mediate principalities possessed by subordinate proprietors, and the immediate principalities belonging to the crown. The privileges of these holders of the mediate principalities are those of not being bound to do homage to the king, otherwise than in person; and of having a sort of government and judicial courts of their own appointment, subject only to appeal to the highest tribunal of the monarchy, to which alone they are themselves personally amenable. Next to these are the owners of certain free lordships, not bearing the title of principalities, but, like them, conferring the privilege of doing homage in person, and of having their own inferior courts. Others, which bear the name of lesser lordships, have likewise peculiar, but less extensive privileges. Last of all come the counts, barons, and nobles, old and new, between whose rights there is little difference, consisting principally in the capacity to hold a noble landed estate, and in belonging to the class among whom all the high offices of state, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, are exclusively distributed. The landholders only have the right of a seat in the states of the provinces, and they have but a limited power to purchase lands not previously noble; they are not allowed to practise any trade or mechanic profession, but may engage in wholesale commerce. The number of noble families amounts to about five thousand.

The townsmen are the inhabitants of the cities; or rather this denomination comprehends all the inhabitants of the province, other than those belonging to the two other orders. The greatest distinction between the privileges of the nobility and those of the townspeople is, that the former are all personal, and the latter all corporate. The townsman, individually, has no privileges; but, as a citizen, partakes of those which belong to the town. These are not uniform, and in former letters I have noticed some which are peculiar to Breslau and the mountain-towns. In general the privileges of the towns are — 1st, To be governed by their own laws of internal police, and by-laws; subject, however, to the approbation of the government, by the designated provincial tribunal.

2d, To select their own magistrates; but this is exercised only by the magistrates themselves; generally their places are for life, and the vacancies are filled up by the choice of the remaining members. 3d, The exclusive right of working or practising in any of the corporate trades within the city. 4th, A privilege, by the name of mile-right, by force of which no trade or mechanic art whatsoever, whether corporate or not, can be exercised within a German mile of the city, but by the burghers themselves. And, 5th, The right of holding annual fairs under ancient grants from the government. All these things bear the name of privileges; but what most of them really are, the fairs sufficiently indicate. The principle upon which the fairs are founded is a momentary suspension of the exclusive rights of the corporations — a single week, during which a stranger may sell a coat, or a pair of shoes, or a glass of beer or brandy, within the town: this last privilege, therefore, is only a short relief from the burden of the rest. The burghers form about one fourth of the population.

Under the name of peasants, are comprised all the inhabitants of the country without the cities, who are employed in the tillage of the land, with the exception of those who, by birth, office, or some special privilege, belong to one of the other classes. They constitute nearly three quarters of the population. Of this great mass of the people, a very small part are entirely free. By the new Prussian code of laws, personal servitude is, indeed, nominally abolished; but the services and duties of which it consisted are not only retained, but formally regulated by law. According to the difference of these services, the peasants are distinguished by three different denominations: 1st, Peasants, properly speaking. These are men who possess a hut and a small piece of land, and are bound to do farming work for the lord, without pay, a certain number of days in the week; the number of these days is different upon different estates. 2d, Gardeners, or persons who hold a piece of ground, or a garden, belonging to the lordship, upon the same conditions of farming work for the lord, for which they receive a small and very inadequate portion of the produce of their labour in kind, or a pittance in money; for instance, about five cents American money

(not quite twopence three farthings sterling) by the day. 3d, Householders, or persons who hold a hut without land, who subsist by working as day-labourers, and pay the lord a small tax in money. All these people are, in a manner, appendages to the glebe, for they cannot quit the ground to which they belong without the consent of their lords, or paying a sort of redemption fine; which, though very trifling, as it should seem, being only a ducat, is yet more than most of them can, in the course of their lives, command. On their part, however, the lords cannot turn these tenants away from the spot of land or the cottage they hold; nor can they sell the estate, without conveying at the same time the tenant, to hold with the same rights and obligations under the new lord. All these securities in favour of the peasants were introduced and established by Frederick II.; for, before his time, the tenant was liable to be turned out of his possession at the lord's pleasure, and employed in domestic service, or left to obtain a subsistence as he could. Several thousands of the peasant farms and cottages were, in consequence of such practices, untenanted and falling to ruin at the period of the Prussian conquest. Frederick obliged the lords to rebuild the cottages, provide them with the grounds, cattle, farming utensils, etc., which had belonged to them when previously occupied, and place in them good able-bodied tenants, whom they were no longer allowed afterwards to remove. This system, thus established, and rigorously carried into execution, certainly contributed most essentially to better the condition of the peasants; but it was oppressive upon the landlords, and a manifest violation of their rights of property. Such is the character of arbitrary power; its only medicines are extracts from the deadliest poisons; its most bounteous charities are but the fruits of robbery.

It was one of the most laudable principles of Frederick's life to improve, as far as he was able, the condition of his subjects; and an absolute monarch, sincerely and deeply impressed with this wish, and at the same time endowed with the most extraordinary mental powers, must, in the nature of things, succeed in a very considerable degree. Frederick unquestionably did succeed; and, nearly as the veneration of his nation for his memory approaches to

idolatry, they know not half their obligations to him. Such is, however, the imperfection of every thing related to human nature, that even the best intentions, guided by the most consummate abilities, and executed by the most unlimited power, are, in detail, often defeated, and often but partially successful. Frederick's measures were not always those best calculated to answer his designs. Thus, when by particular ordinances he made regulations to relieve the peasants from being overburdened by excessive services, and prescribed the manner in which they might obtain redress against the ill treatment of their landlords, his measures were adapted to their ends, and in a great degree answered them; but when he not only forbade every peasant from possessing more than one small farm, and even compelled those who already possessed more, to sell out or tenant with full-grown sons the superfluous number, it is most probable that his ordinance rather counteracted than promoted the object he had in view. It might tend to preserve things in the state in which they were, and to prevent the diminution of the number of individuals and of families employed in agriculture; but it took off the greatest spur of industry, the hope of bettering one's own condition. Where the farmer is thus prevented from ever acquiring possessions beyond those of absolute necessity for the subsistence of his family, it is the more incumbent upon his government to devise means of repairing the calamities of accident, of unpropitious seasons, or of raging elements. The whole rural part of Silesia is therefore districted out, under the regulations of the government, into societies of mutual insurance, from which every farmer who has suffered extraordinary damage by fire, inundations, storms, mortality of cattle, or other casualty, receives assistance in money, labour, and the articles or animals he has lost. The government likewise remits, for a number of years proportioned to the extent of the misfortune, all the taxes payable by the sufferers from such events; and the farmer, who without such relief would be irretrievably ruined, is thus preserved to the state, and restored to agriculture.

John Quincy Adams, *Letters from Silesia*, 338–350.

The Ideal of Limited Majority Government

All men have a right to remain in a state of nature as long as they please; and in case of intolerable oppression, civil or religious, to leave the society they belong to, and enter into another.

When men enter into society, it is by voluntary consent; and they have a right to demand and insist upon the performance of such conditions and previous limitations as form an equitable *original compact.*

Every natural right not expressly given up, or, from the nature of a social compact, necessarily ceded, remains.

All positive and civil laws should conform, as far as possible, to the law of natural reason and equity.

SAMUEL ADAMS, *The Natural Rights of the Colonists as Men*; in WELLS, *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, Vol. I. 502.

There never did, there never will, and there never can exist a parliament of any description of men, or any generation of men, in any country, possessed of the right or the power of binding and controlling posterity to the "*end of time*," or of commanding forever how the world shall be governed, or who shall govern it: And therefore all such clauses, acts or declarations, by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themselves null and void. Every age and generation must be as free to act for itself, *in all cases*, as the ages and generations which preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave, is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man; neither has any generation a property in the generations which are to follow. The parliament or the people of 1688, or of any other period, had no more right to dispose of the people of the present day, or to bind or to control them *in any shape whatever*, than the parliament or the people of the present day have to dispose of, bind or control those who are to live a hundred or a thousand years hence. Every generation is and must be competent to all

the purposes which its occasions require. It is the living, and not the dead, that are to be accommodated. When man ceases to be, his power and his wants cease with him; and having no longer any participation in the concerns of this world, he has no longer any authority in directing who shall be its governors, or how its government shall be organized, or how administered.

THOMAS PAINE, *The Rights of Man*. *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, edited by CONWAY, Vol. II 277, 278.

Causes and Conditions Determining the Form of Government. — Like the modes of sovereignty, the forms of government are products of prevailing conditions of the social mind. When there is so little of common feeling, including sympathy, and so much of hostility breaking forth in conflict, that the relations of men one to another are those which Hobbes in his political theories described as a war of every man against every man, — when, in a word, instead of society there is chaos and insecurity, men eagerly submit to any forceful personality who can establish order. The absolutism of the tyrant or the dictator has always originated in the inability of men — through excess of difference and the consequent impossibility of like-mindedness — to develop any higher form of concerted volition than that which consists in a common submission to a supreme and despotic personality.

Limited minority rule, taking the form usually of the so-called limited monarchy, is a product of conditions that are, on the whole, tolerable. It appears in communities that have no need of the strong hand, because they are capable of much spontaneous cooperation, in which like-mindedness, including a consciousness of kind, is on the whole dominant over differences and antagonisms; in which men are glad to accept leadership, but

will not submit to an unconditional exercise of arbitrary power.

As absolute minority rule is a product of what the political philosophers have called a state of nature, *i.e.* an absence of social feelings and of spontaneous coöperation, so absolute majority rule arises as a product of revolt against oppression. When the masses, becoming solidified by a common experience of wrong and suffering, and in common responding to the stimuli of indignation and hope, make common cause against the despot or the privileged class, they waive all questions of minority, or individual, rights in the conviction that the cause for which they struggle demands the unconditional surrender of individual wills to a collective will. They refuse to tolerate differences of opinion and of conduct, on the plea that he who will not throw in his fortunes with the majority, prefers to remain under oppression, and therefore must not complain if the majority, seeking its own supreme interest, oppresses him. Absolute majority rule is closely correlated with revolutionary conditions, political or industrial. It is characteristic at the present time of the organized labour movement in its resistance to consolidated capitalistic interests.

Limited majority rule can appear only when the community is on the whole homogeneous, and composed of individuals approximately equal in ability and in condition. Such a community will not confer absolute authority even upon a majority. It will reserve individual and minority rights that governments may not override. This is the principle and the policy of constitutional limitations, which, though they may be embodied in written constitutions, are actually observed only in those states whose populations are so far homogeneous and like-minded that even their

governmental activities are in reality more like forms of spontaneous coöperation than like an overruling direction.[1]

The Work of Coöperation: Complex Activities

It was shown that coöperation consists of like activities, by similarly responding individuals, which are correlated and brought to bear upon some particular task that is useful, or at least is supposed to be useful. We have now to observe and to analyze the work that coöperation achieves.

Appreciation, utilization, characterization, and socialization are the simple modes of all the practical activities known to a social population. These simple modes, however, are variously combined in four great groups of complex activities, the essential character of each of which is determined by the predominance of some one of the primitive modes of practical activity. The work of coöperation always consists in carrying on and developing the complex activities.

This work may be achieved by private or by public coöperation. Usually it is undertaken and achieved by private and public coöperation in combination.

Since each group of complex activities includes both the purely mental processes of appreciation, and the motor processes of utilization, it is necessary to regard each group of complex activities from both the intellectual and the practical standpoint — as a development of ideas through communication, association and other modes of concerted volition, and as an outward manifestation in conduct, also developed by concerted volition.

[1] For a more adequate discussion of the foregoing conceptions, see Giddings, *Sovereignty and Government, Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXI. No. 1, March, 1906, 1–27.

Outward action, in turn, or concerted conduct, presents two aspects. One is that of action as such, irrespective of the forms that it assumes, or the modes of organization developed by those who participate. The second aspect is that of the forms which concerted action assumes. If relatively enduring, these forms constitute social organization. The study of forms is a large subject by itself, and will be taken up in Part III. In the present chapter we have to do only with concerted thought and action as such.

Cultural Thought and Activity.— The coöperative development of appreciation is called Culture. Cultural activity is appreciation complicated by utilization, characterization, and socialization.

The elementary cultural *ideas* are those pertaining to language and its development.

Any name actually in use is the offspring of many minds. An object may have suggested its own vocal or written sign, but the sign actually in use is a product of countless imitations. Through imitation it has become conventionalized. In like manner, the ideas conveyed by language are a product of countless suggestions, coöperatively developed. Conceptual thinking is coöperative thinking.

Next in simplicity to linguistic ideas are ideas known to ethnologists by the name "animistic," suggested by Professor E. B. Tylor. Children and savages, and many ignorant persons in civilized communities, conceive of inanimate objects as personal. Beliefs about their supposed habits and powers constitute a large part of the culture of savage communities. Animals, in like manner, are conceived as being like men, not only in their power of voluntary motion, but also in powers of thought, imagination, and purpose.

Animistic thought survives in important cultural phenomena of highly developed communities. The habit of personification is one which the human mind does not outgrow.

Crude or developed animistic thought is differentiated into two great groups of ideas. One consists of animistic interpretations of the finite; the other consists of animistic interpretations of the infinite. The first group includes all personifications of familiar objects and acts, that is, all conceptions of them as personal, or as proceeding from personality. These are æsthetic or artistic ideas, and they are further differentiated into the plastic and the poetic. The other group of animistic ideas includes ideas of a first cause, of creation, of the beginning of life, of death, and of the possibility of existence after death. These collectively are religious ideas, and religion in general may be defined as the animistic interpretation of the infinite.

Poetic ideas of finite things shade imperceptibly into religious ideas of infinity. Thus the worship of animals has prevailed in every part of the world, and it yet survives among savage peoples. But animals, when worshipped, are conceived as having extraordinary powers, as having existed from a dim past and played a rôle in the work of creation, and as having a possibility of continued existence after apparent death. In other words, in primitive animistic thought, notions of the finite and of the infinite, poetic ideas and religious ideas, are not yet discriminated.

Nearly as primitive, possibly quite as primitive, as animistic ideas are those curious notions which collectively make up the body of conceptions known as magic. The fundamental idea in magic is that of some mysterious connection or association between one thing and another, or

between a part and the whole, such that the one always controls or influences the other. In savage thought this idea is expanded until it becomes a belief that, for example, by burning a lock of hair the individual to whom the hair originally belonged can be tortured or destroyed, and even that by inflicting indignities upon a mere image, the original of the image may be made to suffer. Control by means of imitation is known as imitative magic, and control by means of a former contact or participation is called sympathetic magic.

Imitative magic has played a large part in the economic life of primitive mankind. For example, the tribesmen of Central Australia, depending largely upon the witchity grub as a food supply, make bowers in imitation of the cocoon, and perform elaborate dances in imitation of the emergence of the grub, believing that thereby they cause the grubs to multiply. Endless folk customs and superstitions still surviving are the offspring of ancient magic. As animism is the root idea of religion, so magic is the root idea of metaphysics, with its assumption of essences, mysterious relationships, action at a distance, and so on.

Later in development than the linguistic, the animistic, and the magical ideas, and grasped by fewer minds, are cultural ideas of a fourth class, namely, the scientific. The simplest scientific notions are those of counting, measuring, weighing, and classifying. From these ultimately are developed generalizations and conceptions of law and cause.

Cultural *activities* are directly related to these four classes of cultural ideas.

Directly related to linguistic ideas are those partly imitative, partly conscious acts, maintained and developed by concerted volition, which collectively we call manners. Re-

lated to linguistic, to archaic animistic, and to magical ideas are concerted activities in the ceremonial development of manners.

Directly related to archaic animistic ideas and to magic are concerted activities in the ceremonial use and development of costume.

Corresponding to archaic animistic ideas, both poetic and religious, and to ideas of magic, are the concerted activities of festivity and social amusement.

Largely developed by the social amusements, and, like them, corresponding to animistic and magical ideas, both poetic and religious, are the æsthetic arts and all concerted activity in developing them.

Corresponding to religious ideas are those forms of concerted action constituting worship, revivals, pilgrimages, and the more elaborate religious ceremonies. Religious coöperation, like coöperation in social pleasure, has always reacted powerfully upon socialization and the further development of concerted volition.

Corresponding to scientific ideas are coöperative undertakings in exploration and research, and in the recording and transmission of knowledge.

Cultural ideas arise in individual minds, and, for the most part, are developed, at least in the earlier stages of their history, by private coöperation; but sooner or later they always receive the stamp of public coöperation.

The sovereign undertakes to mould them, not without success, by authoritative definition, by suggestion, by recommendation and promulgation, or by the opposite course of repression. The active agents of the sovereign in this effort have been state priesthoods, public censors, and ministers of instruction.

Cultural activities are carried on chiefly by private or voluntary coöperation, but in every natural society they are carried on also by public coöperation. The state gives banquets, and provides public entertainments. It encourages literature and art, and provides for many scientific researches, for which private resources would be inadequate.

Primitive Magic

Side by side with the view of the world as pervaded by spiritual forces, primitive man has another conception in which we may detect a germ of the modern notion of natural law or the view of nature as a series of events occurring in an invariable order without the intervention of personal agency. The germ of which I speak is involved in that sympathetic magic, as it may be called, which plays a large part in most systems of superstition.

Manifold as are the applications of this crude philosophy — for a philosophy it is as well as an art — the fundamental principles on which it is based would seem to be reducible to two: first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted. From the first of these principles the savage infers that he can produce any desired effect merely by imitating it; from the second he concludes that he can influence at pleasure and at any distance any person of whom, or anything of which, he possesses a particle. Magic of the latter sort, resting as it does on the belief in a certain secret sympathy which unites indissolubly things that have once been connected with each other, may appropriately be termed sympathetic in the strict sense of the term. Magic of the former kind, in which the supposed cause resembles or simulates the supposed effect, may conveniently be described as imitative or mimetic. But inasmuch as the efficacy even of imitative magic must be supposed to depend on a certain physical influence or sympathy linking the imaginary cause or subject to the imaginary effect or object, it seems desirable to

retain the name "sympathetic magic" as a general designation to include both branches of the art. In practice the two are often conjoined; or, to speak more exactly, while imitative magic may be practised by itself, sympathetic magic in the strict sense will generally be found to involve an application of the mimetic principle. This will be more readily understood from the examples with which I will now illustrate both branches of the subject, beginning with the imitative.

Perhaps the most familiar application of the principle that like produces like is the attempt which has been made by many peoples in many ages to injure or destroy an enemy by injuring or destroying an image of him, in the belief that, just as the image suffers so does the man, and that when it perishes he must die. A few instances out of many may be given to prove at once the wide diffusion of the practice over the world and its remarkable persistence through the ages. For thousands of years ago it was known to the sorcerers of ancient India, Babylon, and Egypt as well as of Greece and Rome, and at this day it is still resorted to by cunning and malignant savages in Australia, Africa, and Scotland. Thus, for example, when an Ojebway Indian desires to work evil on any one, he makes a little wooden image of his enemy and runs a needle into its head or heart, or he shoots an arrow into it, believing that wherever the needle pierces or the arrow strikes the image, his foe will the same instant be seized with a sharp pain in the corresponding part of his body; but if he intends to kill the person outright, he burns or buries the puppet, uttering certain magic words as he does so.

A Malay charm of the same sort is as follows. Take parings of nails, hair, eyebrows, spittle, and so forth, of your intended victim, enough to represent every part of his person, and then make them up into his likeness with wax from a deserted bees' comb. Scorch the figure slowly by holding it over a lamp every night for seven nights, and say: —

> "It is not wax that I am scorching,
> It is the liver, heart, and spleen of So-and-so that I scorch."

After the seventh time burn the figure, and your victim will die. Another form of the Malay charm, which re-

sembles the Ojebway practice still more closely, is to make a corpse of wax from an empty bees' comb and of the length of a footstep: then pierce the eye of the image, and your enemy is blind; pierce the stomach, and he is sick; pierce the head, and his head aches; pierce the breast, and his breast will suffer. If you would kill him outright, transfix the image from the head downwards; enshroud it as you would a corpse; pray over it as if you were praying over the dead; then bury it in the middle of a path where your victim will be sure to step over it. In order that his blood may not be on your head, you should say: —

> "It is not I who am burying him,
> It is Gabriel who is burying him."

Thus the guilt of the murder will be laid on the shoulders of the archangel Gabriel, who is a great deal better able to bear it than you are. In eastern Java an enemy may be killed by means of a likeness of him drawn on a piece of paper, which is then incensed or buried in the ground.

FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. 9–11.

Survivals of Ancient Religion in Thuringia

In the still primitive region of Thuringia, however, the great periods of rejoicing among the people are principally in celebration of the advent of the more pleasant seasons. Christmas, in Saxony, is regarded as a feast comparatively secondary to that of the New Year; for though there are three days' holidays connected with the Nativity, still the feast of *Weihnachten*, which signifies literally the holy or consecrated nights, from *weihen*, to dedicate to sacred purposes (Latin *ven-eror*) is by no means of the same joyous character as with us. Whereas New Year's Day in Germany, as in France, is regarded as one of the chief holidays of the twelvemonth. There is no doubt, however, that our merry-makings at Christmas are merely the remains of the festivities in which our Saxon forefathers were wont to indulge at the change of the year; even as the "wassail songs" and bowls customary with us on such occasions, and concerning the meaning of which

so much philological nonsense has been written, were merely verses and drinks dedicated to the principal *change* in the length of the days at that period — the German word *wechsel*, as we have said, having come in the course of time to be thus corrupted.

True, Christmas-trees are general in all Lutheran families throughout Germany; but such trees, we know, are comparatively modern innovations, and the gifts which with us are usual on "boxing-day," are in Germany invariably reserved for the first day of the New Year. So, again, instead of any feast being held on Christmas Eve, the orgy is reserved among the Germans for the last night of the old year, when everybody thinks himself called upon to eat lentils and herrings, and to sit up drinking wassail-bowls till midnight, so that the New Year may be duly welcomed in; while on the morrow, all who can in any way afford the expense, think themselves bound to make a "*Partie*," as it is called, or, in other words, to join in some excursion into the country.

So again, at Easter and Whitsuntide, the national rejoicings are more connected with welcoming the return of the spring than those religious rites with which they have been associated by the Fathers of the Church; for on "Green-Thursday," or the day before Good Friday, it is customary to collect the greenest moss to be found in the woods, and to shape this into birds' nests, or hares' nests as they are sometimes called, which, after they have been secretly filled with the sugar eggs that every confectioner's shop is crammed with at this period of the year, are hidden in all kinds of by-places and corners about the house for the young children to find. Of the mystic meaning of this old pagan custom — and indeed of the Catholic Easter Eggs themselves — we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. At the same season it is usual for all manners of cakes to be baked, as well as dough images of little hares to be placed in the nests, together with bright-coloured or sugar eggs, for the little ones.

At the same period, too, long excursions are made into the country, and the highest mountain-tops visited, so that the sun may be seen to come up from behind the great chain of hills at daybreak.

Moreover, on Easter Eve the curious custom prevails among the girls of Thuringia to fetch water from the nearest brook (for unless the stream be a running one, the fluid, it is said, is of no avail) wherewith to wash their faces; for the belief runs that if the water be collected as the clock strikes twelve, on the night before Easter Sunday, without a word being spoken either at the brook-side or on the way home, it has the wonderful charm of beautifying all those maidens who may bathe their cheeks in it. Further: at Whitsuntide the holidays have more to do with the approach of summer than any movable feast of the Christian Church; for then large branches of newly-budding birch-trees are sold in the market-places, and these are stuck in pots in each corner of the room as a sign that the earth is once more bursting into leaf and blossom. At this season, too, almost all the families go out with their children long before daylight into the woods, so as to eat their breakfast there at sunrise, within some newly-made natural bower. Then the students flock to the Thuringian capital, and the hotel or inn at which they put up is made a mass of green for the occasion; while the University scholars set out in a long procession with banners flying and music playing to the top of the Wartburg Hill, there to make the woods resound either with their student hymn of "*Gaudeamus igitur*," or else to make the air reverberate with some other fine student-choral. Indeed, from almost every hill-top, for miles round about the city, the sounds of song and rejoicing are heard at this season of the year.

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The above account includes all the principal feasts and ceremonies observed on the high-days and holidays at the different seasons of the year throughout Thuringia. True, many of them, at the present day, occur at the periods with which some Christian rite has come to be connected; but history teaches us that such public rejoicings existed long before the introduction of Christianity, and that they were essentially connected with that kind of paganism or mythology which consisted in the worship of the different brute forms and powers of Nature, rather than the omniscient God of Creation Himself. And we know, moreover, that it was the custom of the early Fathers of the Catholic

Church to give to those feasts and holidays, to which they found the heathen people of every country too strongly attached to be induced to forego them, some Christian rendering, or some religious connection or other; so that, while the old forms of rejoicing were maintained, a new meaning was attached to them. And thus the old Saxon Yule-festival at the change of the year, came to be translated into the feast of the Nativity; the worship of the Saxon maiden-goddess, Eostra, at the beginning of the springtime to be changed into rites in commemoration of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of the Saviour; even as the old heathen holidays or rejoicings at Whitsuntide, in celebration of the approach of summer, came, in the course of time, to be connected with the feast of the Pentecost.

HENRY MAYHEW, *German Life and Manners as Seen in Saxony*, Vol. II. 339–342, 345–346.

Economic Thought and Activity. — The coöperative development of utilization is the chief process in economic activity; yet economic activity is more than utilization. It is the complex product of utilization in combination with appreciation, characterization, and socialization. Utilization is possible only to the extent that through appreciation we have mentally grasped the environment which we would adapt to our own purposes. Moreover, to carry on economic activity men must not only have the instinct to utilize and the habit of trying experiments, in adapting the external world to themselves, but they must have acquired that discipline of character which enables them to work persistently and with intelligent purpose; and they must further have formed the habit of helping one another in their work in all possible ways. Economic activity, then, is a moralized and socialized process of utilization.

Economic ideas include many animistic and magical beliefs in combination with scientific conceptions of man's relation to his environment.

Accordingly the economic ideas of a people must be described as, on the whole, animistic, if superstition and an unlimited belief in luck, reliance on omens, signs, and magic, govern their hunting, fishing, agriculture, and industrial arts; as, on the whole, scientific, if scientific notions of utility, of productive labour, of capital, and of organization control.

The larger part of the economic thinking of each individual is borrowed from his predecessors of former generations, and most of the remainder from his contemporaries. The final form which his economic ideas assume, however, is, in nearly all cases, determined by his actual economic coöperation with his business associates or fellow-workmen.

Economic activities, maintained by concerted volition, are developed out of and coördinated with the purely organic activities of physical life, and the instinctive utilization practised by the lower animals.

The system of activities and relations, including natural selection and the survival of the fittest, which determines the well-being of physical organisms devoid of mentality, may be called an Organic Economy.

The activities and relationships into which instinct enters as a controlling factor, and which determine the well-being of animal life, may be called an Instinctive Economy.

Supplementing the organic and the instinctive economy in savage, barbarian, and the more ignorant civil communities, are numberless ceremonial activities based upon animistic and magical conceptions, and having for their object success in hunting or fishing, the fertility of flocks and herds, the fertility of the land, or the control of rain and sun. These constitute a Ceremonial Economy.

Largely replacing such ceremonies in all more highly civilized communities are the coöperative activities of a Business Economy, including the development of the household, the conduct of trade, and organized industry with its more or less complex division of labour. Incidental to these developments of coöperation in civilization are the phenomena of concerted volition in financial or industrial "booms," crazes, panics, and strikes.

Together, the organic, the instinctive, and the ceremonial economies of the world of vegetation, of animal life, and of primitive man, are a Consumption Economy, which is antecedent historically as well as psychologically to the Production Economy of the modern world.

The consumption economy increases well-being not so much by producing goods through cultivation, breeding, or manufacture as by so diversifying wants and satisfactions that the adaptation of organism and environment to one another is wider in its basis and more stable than it can be when consumption is simple. The diversification of wants and satisfactions begins in the multiplication of organisms through reproduction, and in the evolution of social relations. It is continued and perfected by the evolution of culture, which springs from the mimetic faculty. The consumption economy by thus determining habits and motives creates the standard of living, and the standard of living, in turn, when mental evolution has achieved the transition to a production economy, determines the extent of wealth production.[1]

Economic coöperation is either public or private. The

[1] For a detailed exposition of the foregoing topics see Giddings, *The Economic Ages*, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XVI. No. 2, June 1901, 193–221, and *The Economic Significance of Culture*, *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII. No. 3, Sept. 1903, 449–461.

economic activity of the state is known as public economy or as public finance.

Moral Thought and Activity. — The coöperative development of characterization is morality, or moral activity. Morality, however, like cultural and economic activity, is a complex process. With the relatively simple activity of characterization are combined the activities of appreciation, of utilization, and of socialization, each of which, through concerted volition, is brought to bear upon the development of character.

Moral ideas, as developed by private coöperation, include notions of conduct as injurious or beneficial to the community, and as therefore deserving of approbation, or of disapprobation, praise or blame, reward or punishment, conceptions that develop into notions of right and wrong.

Specific kinds of conduct thus falling under the categories of right and wrong are: acts of violence, fidelity and treachery, the keeping and breaking of pledges, the performing of agreements, truth telling and lying, sexual mating, and the dealings of parents and children, brothers and sisters, and other relatives with one another.

The quality of moral ideas varies within rather wide limits, according as they are products of sympathetic, of dogmatic, or of deliberative like-mindedness. For mere traditional beliefs about right and wrong deliberation substitutes rational conceptions of goodness or "the good," and, by implication, of their opposites, badness or evil.

Moral ideas, developed by public authority, become legal or juristic ideas, and moral principles become rules of law.

The original content of a rule of law is one of those notions of right or wrong already mentioned, a principle of action which experience has demonstrated, and which

discussion has reduced to intelligible formulation. Such a principle becomes a rule of law when it is authoritatively affirmed by the community as a whole, through its government, or in its capacity as the state, as a rule of conduct which all men must obey, and when it is enforced by the infliction of penalties for disobedience. More briefly, law is morality enforced by public coöperation.

Voluntary concerted activity in moral matters takes the form of common tolerations and abstinences, social condemnation, boycotting, hazing, mobbing, lynching, or other collective vengeance not inflicted by public authority.

Public moral activity — *i.e.* juristic activity — is an enforcement of the rules of law.

Enforcement takes the form of judgment and execution by authorized agents of the public. An enforced public arbitration terminates private disputes. Public accusation, trial, and solemn punishment are substituted for private vengeance and lynching.

An important achievement of deliberative like-mindedness and the progress of scientific thought is the substitution, in judicial proceedings, and as the basis of legal proof, of true objective evidence obtained by inductive methods, for oaths, compurgations, and ordeals, characteristic of the ages of dogma.

Doom Concerning Hot Iron and Water

And concerning the ordeal we enjoin by command of God, and of the archbishop, and of all bishops: that no man come within the Church after the fire is borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the mass-priest, and him who shall go thereto: and let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark, by the man's feet who goes thereto. But if it be water, let it be heated till it

low to boiling. And be the kettle of iron or of brass, of lead or of clay. And if it be a single accusation, let the hand dive after the stone up to the wrist; and if it be threefold, up to the elbow. And when the ordeal is ready, then let two men go in of either side; and be they agreed that it is so hot as we before have said. And let go in an equal number of men of either side, and stand on both sides of the ordeal, along the church; and let these all be fasting, and abstinent from their wives on that night; and let the mass-priest sprinkle holy water over them all, and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and the image of Christ's rood to kiss: and let no man mend the fire any longer when the hallowing is begun, but let the iron lie upon the hot embers till the last collect: after that, let it be laid upon the "stapela"; and let there be no other speaking within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God that he make manifest what is soothest. And let him go thereto; and let his hand be enveloped, and be it postponed till after the third day, whether it be foul or clean within envelope. And he who shall break this law, be the ordeal with respect to him void, and let him pay to the king CXX. shillings as "wite."

"Wal-reaf" is a "nithing's" deed: if any one desire to deny it let him do so with eight and forty full-born thanes.

Laws of King Æthelstan, 7, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. I. 227–229.

Of Feuds

We also command: that the man who knows his foe to be home-sitting fight not before he demand justice of him. If he have such power that he can beset his foe, and besiege him within, let him keep him within for VII. days, and attack him not, if he will remain within. And then, after VII. days, if he will surrender, and deliver up his weapons, let him be kept safe for XXX. days, and let notice of him be given to his kinsmen and his friends. If, however, he flee to a church, then let it be according to the sanctity of the church; as we have before said above. But if he have not sufficient power to besiege him within, let him ride to the "caldorman," and beg aid of him. If he will not aid

him, let him ride to the king before he fights. In like manner also, if a man come upon his foe, and he did not before know him to be home-staying; if he be willing to deliver up his weapons, let him be kept for XXX. days, and let notice of him be given to his friends; if he will not deliver up his weapons, then he may attack him. If he be willing to surrender, and to deliver up his weapons, and any one after that attack him, let him pay as well "wēr" as wound, as he may do, and "wite," and let him have forfeited his "mæg"-ship. We also declare, that with his lord a man may fight "orwige," if any one attack the lord: thus may the lord fight for his man. After the same wise, a man may fight with his born kinsman, if a man attack him wrongfully, except against his lord; that we do not allow. And a man may fight "orwige," if he find another with his lawful wife, within closed doors, or under one covering, or with his lawfully-born daughter, or with his lawfully-born sister, or with his mother, who was given to his father as his lawful wife.

Laws of King Alfred, 42, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. I. 91.

Political Thought and Activity. — Socialization, which begins spontaneously and unconsciously in acquaintance, imitation, and conflict, is deliberately furthered by concerted volition. To this end all new developments of appreciation, of utilization, and of characterization are brought to bear upon the process of assimilation. Public and private coöperation in the task of socialization, thus complicated, is political activity.

Political ideas and activities regarded as a coöperative development of socialization cleave into two distinct divisions. The ideas of the one division are concepts of individuals regarded as members of society, and of society itself as enjoying a certain distinction or attainment; the corresponding activities are direct dealings by society with itself, or with its individual members, in an effort to mould

their natures to a common social type. The ideas and activities of the other division relate to various means by which the end, socialization, is more or less indirectly achieved.

Examining, first, the political *ideas*, we may conveniently designate the two divisions or groups into which they fall as primary and secondary, since the one pertains to ends to be achieved or conserved, and the other pertains to means.

First among the primary political notions is an uncritical idea of the group or population itself, and of its self-preservation. The self-existence of the group may be instinctively felt only, or it may be rationally conceived.

Second among the primary political ideas is the notion of the character of the group as exhibited by its individual members in their capacity as companions, or as associates, neighbours, friends, and fellow-workers.

As a member of society, every individual finds himself profoundly interested in the concrete personalities about him. Their qualities concern him directly. His own self-preservation may depend on their character and social attitude. When self-preservation is assured, all other social phenomena concern him chiefly as they affect the types of personality with which he has to deal.

In societies in which public organization is of the civil as distinguished from the tribal type, the socius is a citizen.

This object of ever present political interest, the socius or citizen, may be conceived as actual or as ideal.

In our thought of the socius as actual, some mode or point of resemblance is seized upon. The less developed a community is, and the cruder its thinking, the more likely it is to emphasize the importance of that resemblance which is, or is supposed to be, correlated with the degree

of kinship. The savage bases his whole system of social organization upon distinctions of real or of nominal blood relationship. The mentally more advanced barbarian begins to have conceptions of aristocratic distinctions based upon descent, and these notions become important in the earlier stages of civilization. Gradually, however, the notion of kinship yields to conceptions of mental and moral resemblances, irrespective of the blood bond, and the preferred mode of resemblance may be oligarchical in type or democratic; expressed, in either case, in culture, in economy, in law, or in politics.

In the concept of the socius as ideal, the point of resemblance usually fixed upon is the type of character. The idealized citizen is conceived as a forceful man, a convivial man, an austere man, or a rationally conscientious man. Concerted effort to assimilate different qualities of mind and character in the community, is usually an attempt to mould all men to one of these types of character, which, at the moment, happens to be preferred above any other.

Third in importance among primary political ideas is that of the preferred distinction or attainment of the community. This is always determined by the preference for one or another type of character. According as the community prefers the forceful, the convivial, the austere, or the rationally conscientious man, it desires to be distinguished for power, for splendour, for uprightness and justice, or for liberty and enlightenment.

The secondary political ideas, pertaining to the means by which the conservation or the perfection of a certain social type is attained, are distributed in five groups. They comprise, first, notions of the relation between the community and its objective environment, its national or

communal domain, inherited or otherwise acquired, its historic spots and sacred places; second, notions of the extent and composition of the population; third, notions of the mental and moral cohesion or unity of the community, including ideas of common ideals, loyalty, patronage, bribery or coercion as means to attain it, and ideas of the binding power of such common possessions as gods, saints, and heroes, worship, arts, amusements, costumes, manners and language; fourth, notions of the social organization, including the concept of the community as a simple group, or as made up of federated or consolidated groups, and concepts of the great social institutions, as the family and the state, the industrial system, and the church; and, fifth, ideas of social policy, including plans for maintenance or growth, programmes of socialization or modification of the social type, and ideas of the form which such policies should assume, as coercive or educative, socialistic or individualistic.

Political ideas, products in part of sympathetic like-mindedness, in part of dogmatic like-mindedness, which transforms them into traditions and tenaciously held beliefs, are further transformed by deliberative like-mindedness, which converts them into highly complex Social Values.

Value, in the subjective sense of the word, is a purely intellectual estimate, a judgment of the utility, or goodness, or dignity, or importance, of any object, act, or relation. Like material commodities, all social elements, all social acts and relations, are more or less useful. A critical judgment pronounces them more or less good, more or less important, more or less worthy of respect. All, therefore, may be described as social utilities, positive or negative. Under this description, then, fall all those objects of politi-

cal thought which have been enumerated: the socius, actual or ideal, the distinction or attainment of the community, the bonds of cohesion, the extent and cohesion of the political aggregate, and the community's varied possessions. Critically reflecting upon all these social utilities, deliberative like-mindedness passes judgment upon them, values them, and arranges them in a scale of value. In short, it converts all political ideas into complex political valuations.

All concerted social *activity*, as has been said, assumes the form of aggression, or the form of defence. This is more conspicuously true, perhaps, of political activity than of any other form of coöperation. The simplest concerted acts of political aggression or defence pertain to the self-preservation of the group, and to its common possessions, namely, the gods, the sacred places, the common territory, the cherished customs and institutions. Next in order come collective aggression upon or collective defence of the social cohesion, the internal public order. These acts may take the form of crusades, riots, insurrections, or rebellions, or the opposite form of concerted activity to put down such disturbances. Third in order is collective aggression or defence, relative to the extent and composition of the community, usually taking the form of wars of conquest and expansion. Finally, comes all coöperative activity to achieve the preferred distinction of the community, and to mould the citizen to a preferred social type.

All of these modes of social activity, like coöperation in cultural, economic, or moral activity, may be public or private.

Private political coöperation may be a spontaneous effort to repel an impending danger, to organize resistance

or rebellion, or to awaken the public mind to a consciousness of some great abuse or desirable reform. It may be a systematic agitation, an organized electoral campaign, or the organization and development of a political party. It includes the activity of all political cliques, clubs, rings, and "machines." As applied to the preferred distinction of the community, and the preferred type of citizen, it includes all efforts to favour one type of conduct and character at the expense of others, by means of public opinion, or of private penalties and rewards, including discrimination, patronage, economic coercion, and ecclesiastical disfavours.

The state engages in aggressive and defensive operations with reference to the acquisition or protection of territory, the development or conservation of religion and the arts, the creation, maintenance, or overthrow of institutions, and the maintenance of public order. It endeavours to achieve the preferred distinction of the community by means of a formulated policy, carried out through the agency of the legislature, the executive, and the courts. It represses certain social types by bringing the military power, the law, or ecclesiastical penalties to bear upon them. It cultivates other types by means of educational undertakings, and by public favour.

The Policies of Coöperation

The highest development of coöperation is seen in the formulation of certain great Policies through deliberation upon the composition, the character, and the circumstances of the community, and in efforts, both public and voluntary, to carry them to realization.

These policies may broadly be classified as Internal and

External. Internal policies have for their object the achievement of certain relations or conditions among the members of a social group — a class, a race, or a people. External policies have for their object the achievement of certain relations between one social group — a class, a race, or a people — and another.

Internal Policies. — In the historical experience of mankind, three great groups of internal policies may be discovered. These are, namely, Policies of Unity, Policies of Liberty, and Policies of Equality.

1. *Policies of Unity* aim to perfect the cohesion, the homogeneity, the solidarity of the group. If the group is a nation, the amalgamation of blood is watched with interest, and the process of mental assimilation with yet more concern. Laws are enacted, or edicts promulgated, to hasten on the change. One language must be spoken throughout the community. One religious faith must be embraced by all. One consistent economic policy must be followed. One standard of conduct and of legality must be established for all citizens. If the group is a voluntary organization, like a religious denomination, a trade union, or a political party, an attempt is made to persuade, or to compel all its members to believe the same things, and to conduct themselves in like ways. A creed, a body of rules, or a platform is imposed, and orthodoxy, or regularity, is insisted upon as a primary obligation.

Policies of Unity: The Counsel of Haman

And Haman said unto king Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from *those of* every people; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it is not for the king's

profit to suffer them. If it please the king, let it be written that they be destroyed: and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver into the hands of those that have the charge of the *king's* business, to bring it into the king's treasuries. And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Jews' enemy. And the king said unto Haman, The silver is given to thee, the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee.

Esther, Chap. iii. 8–11.

Authoritative Discipline in Sparta

One, then, of the Rhetras was, that their laws should not be written; another is particularly levelled against luxury and expensiveness, for by it it was ordained that the ceilings of their houses should only be wrought by the axe, and their gates and doors smoothed only by the saw. . . .

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In order to the good education of their youth (which, as I said before, he thought the most important and noblest work of a lawgiver), he went so far back as to take into consideration their very conception and birth, by regulating their marriages. . . . Those who continued bachelors were in a degree disfranchised by law; for they were excluded from the sight of those public processions in which the young men and maidens danced naked, and, in wintertime, the officers compelled them to march naked themselves round the market place, singing as they went a certain song to their own disgrace, that they justly suffered their punishment for disobeying the laws. Moreover, they were denied that respect and observance which the younger men paid their elders; . . .

Nor was it in the power of the father to dispose of the child as he thought fit; he was obliged to carry it before certain triers at a place called Lesche; these were some of the elders of the tribe to which the child belonged; their business it was carefully to view the infant, and, if they found it stout and well made, they gave order for its rearing, and allotted to it one of the nine thousand shares of land above mentioned for its maintenance, but, if they

found it puny and ill-shaped, ordered it to be taken to what was called the Apothetæ, a sort of chasm under Taygetus ; as thinking it neither for the good of the child itself, nor for the public interest, that it should be brought up, if it did not, from the very outset, appear made to be healthy and vigorous.

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After they were twelve years old, they were no longer allowed to wear any under garment; they had one coat to serve them a year; their bodies were hard and dry, with but little acquaintance of baths and unguents ; these human indulgences they were allowed only on some few particular days in the year. They lodged together in little bands upon beds made of the rushes which grew by the banks of the river Eurotas, which they were to break off with their hands without a knife; if it were winter, they mingled some thistledown with their rushes, which it was thought had the property of giving warmth. By the time they were come to this age, there was not any of the more hopeful boys who had not a lover to bear him company. The old men, too, had an eye upon them, coming often to the grounds to hear and see them contend either in wit or strength with one another, and this as seriously and with as much concern as if they were their fathers, their tutors, or their magistrates; so that there scarcely was any time or place without some one present to put them in mind of their duty, and punish them if they had neglected it. . . .

Their discipline continued still after they were full-grown men. No one was allowed to live after his own fancy ; but the city was a sort of camp, in which every man had his share of provisions and business set out, and looked upon himself not so much born to serve his own ends as the interest of his country.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by A. H. CLOUGH, 34, 35, 36, 39.

Pericles' Disposition of Troublesome Elements

For, indeed, there was from the beginning a sort of concealed split, or seam, as it might be in a piece of iron, marking the different popular and aristocratical tendencies;

but the open rivalry and contention of these two opponents made the gash deep, and severed the city into the two parties of the people and the few. And so Pericles, at that time more than at any other, let loose the reins to the people, and made his policy subservient to their pleasure, contriving continually to have some great public show or solemnity, some banquet, or some procession or other in the town to please them, coaxing his countrymen like children, with such delights and pleasures as were not, however, unedifying. Besides that every year he sent out threescore galleys, on board of which there went numbers of the citizens, who were in pay eight months, learning at the same time and practising the art of seamanship.

He sent, moreover, a thousand of them into the Chersonese as planters, to share the land among them by lot, and five hundred more into the isle of Naxos, and half that number to Andros, a thousand into Thrace to dwell among the Bisaltæ, and others into Italy, when the city Sybaris, which now was called Thurii, was to be peopled. And this he did to ease and discharge the city of an idle, and, by reason of their idleness, a busy, meddling crowd of people; and at the same time to meet the necessities and restore the fortunes of the poor townsmen, and to intimidate, also, and check their allies from attempting any change, by posting such garrisons, as it were, in the midst of them.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by A. H. CLOUGH, III.

Of Him Who fails to Attend the Gemot

If any one [when summoned] fail to attend the "gemōt" thrice; let him pay the king's "oferhyrnes," and let it be announced seven days before the "gemōt" is to be. But if he will not do right, nor pay the "oferhyrnes"; then let all the chief men belonging to the "burh" ride to him, and take all that he has, and put him in "borh." But if any one will not ride with his fellows, let him pay the king's "oferhyrnes." And let it be announced at the "gemōt," that the "frith" be kept toward all that the king wills to be within the "frith," and theft be foregone by his life and by all that he has. And he who for the "wites" will not

desist, then let all the chief men belonging to the "burh" ride to him, and take all that he has; and let the king take possession of half, of half the men who may be in the riding; and place him in "borh." If he know not who will be his "borh," let them imprison him. If he will not suffer it, let him be killed, unless he escape. If any one will avenge him, or be at feud with any of them, then be he foe to the king, and to all his friends. If he escape, and any one harbour him, let him be liable in his "wēr"; unless he shall dare to clear himself by the "flyma's" "wēr," that he knew not he was a "flyma."

Laws of Æthelstan, 20, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. I. 209–211.

Uniformity of Worship

An Act for the Uniformity of Publique Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies: And for establishing the Form of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Church of England.

Whereas in the first year of the late Queen Elizabeth, there was one uniform Order of Common Service and Prayer, and of the Administration of Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies, in the Church of England, (agreeable to the Word of God, and usage of the Primitive Church), compiled by the reverend bishops and clergy, set forth in one book, entituled, The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England and enjoined to be used by Act of Parliament, holden in the said first year of the said late queen, entituled, An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments, very comfortable to all good people desirous to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the Estate of this Realm; upon the which the mercy, favour, and blessing of Almighty God is in no wise so readily and plentifully poured, as by common prayers, due using of the sacraments, and often preaching of the gospel, with devotion of the hearers; And yet this notwithstanding, a

great number of people in divers parts of this Realm, following their own sensuality, and living without knowledge and due fear of God, do wilfully and schismatically abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches, and other public places where common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and preaching of the Word of God is used upon the Sundays and other days ordained and appointed to be kept and observed as holy-days: And whereas by the great and scandalous neglect of ministers in using the said order or liturgy so set forth and enjoined as aforesaid, great mischiefs and inconveniences, during the times of the late unhappy troubles, have arisen and grown, and many people have been led into factions and schisms, to the great decay and scandal of the Reformed Religion of the Church of England, and to the hazard of many souls: For prevention whereof in time to come, for settling the Peace of the Church, and for allaying the present distempers which the indisposition of the time hath contracted, The King's Majesty, according to his declaration of the five and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred and sixty, granted his commission under the Great Seal of England to several bishops and other divines, to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare such alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer: And afterwards the convocations of both the provinces of Canterbury and York, being by his Majesty called and assembled, and now sitting, his Majesty hath been pleased to authorize and require the presidents of the said convocations, and other the bishops and clergy of the same, to review the said Book of Common Prayer, and the book of the form and manner of the making and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons; And that after mature consideration they should make such additions and alterations in the said books respectively, as to them should seem meet and convenient; and should exhibit and present the same to his Majesty in writing for his further allowance or confirmation: since which time, upon full and mature deliberation, they the said presidents, bishops, and clergy, of both provinces, have accordingly reviewed the said books, and have made some alterations which they think fit to be inserted to the same;

and some additional prayers to the said Book of Common Prayer to be used upon proper and emergent occasions, And have exhibited and preferred the same unto his Majesty in writing, in one book, entituled, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches; and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons: All which his Majesty having duly considered, hath fully approved and allowed the same, and recommended to this present Parliament, that the said Books of Common Prayer, and of the form of ordination and consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons, with the alterations and additions which have been so made and presented to his Majesty by the said convocations, be the book which shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, and in all chapels of colleges and halls in both the Universities, and the colleges of Eaton and Winchester, and in all parish churches and chapels within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and by all that make or consecrate bishops, priests, or deacons, in any of the said places, under such sanctions and penalties as the Houses of Parliament shall think fit.

I. Now in regard that nothing conduceth more to the settling of the Peace of this Nation, (which is desired of all good men), nor to the honour of our religion, and the propagation thereof, than an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God; and to the intent that every person within this Realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship, and administrations of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and the manner how and by whom bishops, priests, and deacons, are and ought to be made, ordained, and consecrated: Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by the advice and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and

by the authority of the same, That all and singular ministers in any cathedral, collegiate or parish church or chapel, or other place of public worship within this Realm of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, shall be bound to say and use the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, celebration and administration of both the sacraments, and all other the public and common prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed and joined to this present act, and entituled, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches; and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons: And that the morning and evening prayers therein contained shall, upon every Lord's day, and upon all other days and occasions, and at the times therein appointed, be openly and solemnly read by all and every minister or curate, in every church, chapel, or other place of public worship, within this Realm of England and places aforesaid.

II. And to the end that uniformity in the public worship of God (which is so much desired) may be speedily effected, be it further enacted . . . That every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, who now hath and enjoyeth any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion within this Realm of England or places aforesaid, shall, in the church, chapel, or place of public worship, belonging to his said benefice or promotion, upon some Lord's day before the Feast of St. Bartholomew which shall be in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred sixty and two, openly, publicly, and solemnly read the Morning and Evening Prayer appointed to be read by and according to the said Book of Common Prayer, at the times thereby appointed; and after such reading thereof, shall openly and publicly, before the congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said book contained and prescribed, in these words, and no other:

The Act of Uniformity, 14 Charles II. Cap. 4, 1662. *The Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. V. 364–365.

Censorship of the Press

An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious, treasonable and unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses.

Whereas the well government and regulating of Printers and Printing Presses is matter of public care, and of great concernment, especially considering, that by the general licentiousness of the late times, many evil-disposed persons have been encouraged to print and sell heretical, schismatical, blasphemous, seditious and treasonable books, pamphlets and papers, and still do continue such their unlawful and exorbitant practice, to the high dishonour of Almighty God, the endangering the peace of these Kingdoms, and raising a disaffection to his most Excellent Majesty and his government; For prevention whereof, no surer means can be advised, than by reducing and limiting the number of printing-presses, and by ordering and settling the said art or mystery of printing by act of Parliament, in manner as herein after is expressed.

I. The King's most Excellent Majesty, . . . doth ordain and enact, . . . That no person or persons whatsoever shall presume to print, or cause to be printed, either within this Realm of England, or any other his Majesty's Dominions, or in parts beyond the seas, any heretical, seditious, schismatical or offensive books or pamphlets, wherein any doctrine or opinion shall be asserted or maintained, which is contrary to Christian Faith, or the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or which shall or may tend, or be to the scandal of religion, or the Church, or the government or governors of the Church, State or Commonwealth, or of any corporation or particular person or persons whatsoever; nor shall import, publish, sell or dispose any such book or books, or pamphlets, nor shall cause or procure . . . any such to be published, or put to sale, or . . . to be bound, stitched, or sewed together.

II. And be it further ordained . . . That no private person or persons whatsoever shall at any time hereafter print or cause to be printed any book or pamphlet what-

soever, unless the same book and pamphlet, together with all and every the titles, epistles, prefaces, proems, preambles, introductions, tables, dedications, and other matters and things thereunto annexed, be first entered in the book of the register of the Company of Stationers of London, except acts of Parliament, proclamations, and such other books and papers as shall be appointed to be printed by virtue of any warrant under the King's Majesty's sign-manual, or under the hand of one or both of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; and unless the same book and pamphlet, and also all and every the said titles, epistles, prefaces, proems, preambles, introductions, tables, dedications, and other matters and things whatsoever thereunto annexed, or therewith to be imprinted, shall be first lawfully licensed and authorized to be printed by such person and persons only as shall be constituted and appointed to license the same, according to the direction and true meaning of this present act hereinafter expressed, and by no other; (that is to say) That all books concerning the common laws of this Realm shall be printed by the special allowance of the Lord-Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England for the time being, the Lords Chief Justices, and Lord Chief Baron for the time being, . . . or one or more of their appointments; And that all books of history concerning the state of this Realm, or other books concerning any affairs of state, shall be licensed by the principal Secretaries of State for the time being, or one of them, . . . And that all books to be imprinted concerning heraldry, titles of honour, and arms, or otherwise concerning the office of Earl Marshal, shall be licensed by the Earl Marshal for the time being or by his appointment, or in case there shall not then be an Earl Marshal, shall be licensed by the three kings of arms, Garter, Clarenceux, and Norroy, or any two of them, whereof Garter Principal King of Arms to be one; And that all other books to be imprinted or reprinted, whether of divinity, physick, philosophy, or whatsoever other science or art, shall be first licensed and allowed by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, or one of them, or by their or one of their appointments, or by either one of the

Chancellors, or Vice-Chancellors of either of the Universities of this Realm for the time being; provided always, that the said Chancellors, or Vice-Chancellors of either of the said Universities shall only license such books as are to be imprinted or reprinted within the limits of the said Universities respectively, but not in London or elsewhere, not meddling either with books of common laws, or matters of state or government, nor any book or books, the right of printing whereof doth solely and properly belong to any particular person or persons, without his or their consent first obtained in that behalf.

III. And be it enacted . . . That every person and persons who . . . are, . . . authorized to license the imprinting of books, or reprinting thereof with any additions or amendments, as aforesaid, shall have one written copy of the same book or books which shall be so licensed . . . with the titles, epistles, prefaces, tables, dedications, and all other things whatsoever thereunto annexed; which said copy shall be delivered by such licenser or licensers to the printer or owner for the imprinting thereof, and shall be safely and intirely returned by such printer or owner, after the imprinting thereof, unto such licenser or licensers, to be kept in the public registries of the said Lord Archbishop, or Lord Bishop of London respectively, or in the office of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of either the said Universities, or with the said Lord-Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal for the time being, or Lord-Chief Justices, or Chief Baron, or one of them, or the said principal Secretaries of State, or with the Earl Marshal or the said Kings of Arms, or one of them, of all such books as shall be licensed by them respectively; And if such book so to be licensed shall be an English book, or of the English tongue, there shall be two written copies thereof delivered to the licenser or licensers (if he or they shall so require) one copy whereof so licensed shall be delivered back to the said printer or owner, and the other copy shall be reserved and kept as is aforesaid, to the end such licenser or licensers may be secured, that the copy so licensed shall not be altered without his or their privity; And upon the said copy licensed to be imprinted, he or they who shall so license the same,

shall testify under his or their hand or hands, That there is not anything in the same contained that is contrary to the Christian Faith, or the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or against the State or Government of this Realm, or contrary to good life, or good manners, or otherwise as the nature and subject of the work shall require; which license or approbation shall be printed in the beginning of the same book, with the name or names of him or them that shall authorize or license the same, for a testimony of the allowance thereof.

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[Sections V.–IX. provide that books are to be imported to London only, and may not be opened without permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury or his deputy, and attach penalties to violation; that printers of books, under penalty, are to put their names on their books; that the persons who may sell books are limited in number and placed under regulation; and that, in the interest of the printing trade, no English books printed abroad are to be imported without special license.]

IX. And be it further enacted . . . That no person or persons within the city of London, or the liberties thereof, or elsewhere, shall erect or cause to be erected any press or printing-house, nor shall knowingly demise or let, or willingly suffer to be held or used any house, vault, cellar, or other room whatsoever, to or by any person or persons for a printing-house, . . . unless he or they who erect such press, or shall so knowingly demise or let such house, cellar, vault, or room . . . shall first give notice to the master or wardens of the said Company of Stationers for the time being, of the erecting of such press. . . .

[Sections X.–XII. provide for a strict and detailed regulation of the printing trade.]

XIV. And for the better discovering of printing in corners without license Be it further enacted . . . That one or more of the messengers of his Majesty's Chamber, by warrant under his Majesty's sign manual, or under the hand of one or more of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, or the Master and Wardens of the said Company of Stationers, or any one of them, shall have power and authority with a constable, to take unto them such assist-

ance as they shall think needful, . . . to search all houses and shops where they shall know, or upon some probable reason suspect any books or papers to be printed, bound or stitched, especially printing-houses, booksellers' shops and warehouses, and bookbinders' houses and shops, and to view there what is imprinting, binding or stitching, and to examine whether the same be licensed, and to demand a sight of the said license; and if the said book . . . shall not be licensed then to seize upon so much thereof, as shall be found imprinted, together with the several offenders, and to bring them before one or more justices of the peace, who are hereby . . . required to commit such offenders to prison, there to remain until they shall be tried and acquitted, or convicted and punished for the said offences; and in case the said searchers shall . . . find any book or books, . . . which they shall suspect to contain matters therein contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or against the State and Government, Then upon such suspicion to seize upon such book or books, . . . and to bring the same unto the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Bishop of London . . . or to the Secretaries of State, . . . who shall take such further course for the suppressing thereof, as to them or any of them shall seem fit.

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XVI. And be it further enacted . . . That every printer shall reserve three printed copies of the best and largest paper of every book new printed, or reprinted by him with additions, and shall before any public venting of the said book bring them to the Master of the Company of Stationers, and deliver them to him, one whereof shall be delivered to the keeper of his Majesty's Library, and the other two to be sent to the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities respectively, for the use of the Publique Libraries of the said Universities.

XVII. Provided always, That nothing in this act contained shall . . . extend to the prejudice or infringing of any the just rights and privileges of either of the two Universities of this Realm, touching and concerning the licensing or printing of books in either of the said Universities.

XVIII. Provided always, That no search shall be at any time made in the house or houses of any the peers of this Realm, or of any other person or persons not being free of, or using any of the trades in this act before mentioned, but by special warrant from the King's Majesty, under his sign-manual, or under the hand of one or both of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, or for any other books than such as are in printing, or shall be printed after the tenth of June, one thousand six hundred sixty and two; anything in this act to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

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XXI. Provided also, That neither this act . . . shall extend to prejudice the just rights and privileges granted by his Majesty, or any of his royal predecessors, to any person or persons, under his Majesty's Great-Seal, or otherwise, but that such person or persons may exercise and use such rights and privileges, as aforesaid, according to their respective grants; anything in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXII. Provided also, That neither this act, . . . shall extend to prohibit John Streater Stationer, from printing books and papers, but that he may still follow the art and mystery of printing, as if this act had never been made; anything therein to the contrary notwithstanding.

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[Section XXIII. is a special proviso for the city of York, reserving the licensing right of the Archbishop of York.]

XXIV. Provided, That this act shall continue and be in force for two years to commence from the tenth of June, one thousand six hundred sixty and two, and no longer.

The Licensing Act, 14 Charles II. Cap. 33, 1662, *The Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. V. 428–433.

2. *Policies of Liberty* are reactions against the restraints, amounting often to intolerable coercion, of excessive unification. They aim at a toleration of variety, of

individual initiative, of freedom of thought, speech, and conduct. They take legal form in bills of rights and constitutional guarantees of liberty.

Genesis of the Policy of Liberty

Perfect unification, complete homogeneity, would inhibit further progress; but the perfect unification of an arrested civilization is rarely attained. So long as there remain in the population many diverse elements freely communicating with one another, and still undergoing assimilation, the conditions are present for progress. No scheme of unification ever quite destroys the restless individualism of the rational mind. Unifying policies, involving as they do a large measure of coercion, much repression of individual initiative, and much thwarting of ambition, goad the more rebellious spirits into open opposition, which can be repressed only if all heretics and disturbers of the political peace can be exterminated. At the same time, by putting an end to many conflicts between independent states that have at length been brought into an inclusive national or imperial organization, the unifying policy releases energy to expend itself in commercial enterprise, in public agitation, in destructive criticism and perhaps in overt rebellion. Under these circumstances the stimulus of authority begins to lose its power, and the ideal of unity ceases to impress the imagination with the old time vividness. New ideas take shape in an ideal of liberty, which appeals with increasing force to men of every blood, of every degree of culture and of economic condition. The broadening response to this new stimulus in time creates the great policies of liberty, including the establishment and protection of individual liberty by forms of constitutional law.

GIDDINGS, *T. S. C.*

3. *Policies of Equality* are reactions against the abuse of liberty by men and parties that take advantage of their freedom to curtail the opportunities of their fellows and to exploit them. They aim to establish an equality of liberty,

and, as far as possible, of opportunity. They include the establishment of political equality through universal suffrage, equal standing before the law, the abolition of state-created privileges in the realm of economic interests, equality of educational opportunities, and measures for the protection of the weak, particularly women and children, in the economic struggle.

Genesis of the Policy of Equality

As the policy of unification when pressed too far creates reactions against itself, so also does a régime of unlimited liberty. It creates conditions of great and increasing inequality. The energetic and the enterprising, unrestrained in their activity, acquire control of the machinery of government, of the administration of law, and of economic opportunities. Enjoying perfect freedom of contract, they organize the industrial system to secure the utmost increase of wealth and its utmost monopolization. Having through liberty obtained power, they proceed by all possible means to monopolize liberty itself, taking care to maintain those legal forms of freedom that protect property and enterprise, and that encourage competition among wage-earning laborers, while more than willing to restrict competition among themselves. An increasing density of population intensifies the struggle for existence. Class differentiation is hastened, and presently social cohesion is threatened through the exploitation of the weak by the strong. From the exploited comes the demand for wider opportunity and a larger share in material prosperity. It is perceived by the intelligent that if a disruption of the community through a revolt of the discontented, or a general revolution, is to be prevented, some limitation of the liberty of the strong to curtail the liberties of the weak must be imposed, and that practically this means a certain limitation of liberty by equality. It is under these circumstances that the ideal of equality arises, and that its influence over the multitude creates the democratic movement, as that term is understood in modern times. GIDDINGS, *T. S. C.*

Liberty and Equality in the Northwest Territory

An ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among, their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: . . .

* * * * * * *

Art. 2d. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgement of his peers, or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, *bona fide*, and without fraud, previously formed.

Art. 3d. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind,

schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

Ordinance of 1787, for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, Graydon's *Abridgment of the Laws of the United States*, Vol. I., *Appendix*, 137, 140.

External Policies. — In the relations of social aggregates to one another, three great groups of external policies have been developed. These are, namely, Policies of Subjugation, Policies of Exploitation, and Policies of Assistance.

1. *Policies of Subjugation.* — In savagery and barbarism, neighbouring groups live on terms of mutual toleration, or they join forces against some more distant enemy only after repeated encounters have convinced them that they are of too nearly equal strength for any one to hope to overcome another. The subjugation, even the extermination, of neighbouring hordes or tribes is the aim and policy of each group as long as there is any possibility of accomplishing such ends. The integration of hordes and small tribes into large tribal systems has been accomplished mainly through policies of subjugation.

So also has been effected the consolidation of small civil states into great political systems. Subjugation of neighbouring communities has been the policy of each wherever conquest has been possible.

Race struggles and class conflicts also have to a great extent been expressions of consciously formulated policies of subjugation.

Subjugation of the Dacians

The first exploits of Trajan were against the Dacians, the most warlike of men, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had insulted, with impunity, the majesty of Rome. To the strength and fierce-

ness of barbarians they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a warm persuasion of the immortality and transmigration of the soul. Decebalus, the Dacian king, approved himself a rival not unworthy of Trajan; nor did he despair of his own and the public fortune, till, by the confession of his enemies, he had exhausted every resource both of valour and policy. This memorable war, with a very short suspension of hostilities, lasted five years; and as the Emperor could exert, without control, the whole force of the state, it was terminated by the absolute submission of the barbarians.

Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. I. 5.

2. *Policies of Exploitation.* — With advancing civilization, however, policies of subjugation, especially policies of mere extermination, are in a measure superseded by policies of exploitation. The economic motive has become ascendant, and superior power finds its advantage in exacting toil from conquered peoples, or in preying upon the commercial inexperience of economically inferior peoples, races, or classes.

Exploitation in Thessaly

Now the origin of the Penestæ, in Thessaly, is ascribed to the conquest of the territory by the Thessprotians, as that of the Helots in Laconia is traced to the Dorian conquest. The victors in both countries are said to have entered into a convention with the vanquished population, whereby the latter became serfs and tillers of the land for the benefit of the former, but were at the same time protected in their holdings, construed subjects of the state, and secured against being sold away as slaves. Even in the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestæ, the quarters assigned to each were to a great degree separated: what was called the Free Agora could not be trodden by any Penest, except when specially summoned.

Grote, *History of Greece*, Vol. II. 279–280.

Exploitation in the Isle of Man

Even as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century the sage Manx legislators attempted to keep wages down, and to secure their supply of labour by stringently enforcing the old laws against any one leaving the island without the governor's licence, and, further, by ordering that, even if this licence were obtained, no one should be allowed to go unless he had a certificate from his minister, the captain of his parish, and the jury of servants, that there was no need for his labour.

A. W. Moore, *A History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. I 397.

3. *Policies of Assistance.* — In the most advanced modern civilizations there is a partial superseding of policies, both of subjugation and of exploitation, by policies of assistance. The powerful and prosperous classes of the relatively strong peoples extend educational advantages, relief of acute distress, and, to some extent, economic opportunity to the wage-earning classes, to inferior races, and to dependent peoples. Missionary zeal and the philanthropic spirit are the immature expressions of a developing force of sympathy and understanding, which is probably destined to expand the policies of assistance enormously in coming years.

Genesis of the Policy of Assistance

We may profitably linger for a moment upon the process of equilibration through education and justice. It begins when society has become complex enough to pass from policies of unification to those of liberalism and democracy. It is a common error of popular sociological thinking to conceive of philanthropic activities as a conscious combating of that order of nature which has its sources in physical phenomena, and which assumes in the organic world the form of the struggle for existence. In reality the philanthropic process is inevitable, and happily, here and there a

student of social evolution is beginning to apprehend its nature and causation.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd, for example, has attempted to prove that all real progress has its cause in a fact that he calls projected efficiency. Those organisms and those institutions survive, he tells us, that have potential qualities that will be realized in future race development. Mr. Kidd has in this hypothesis taken hold of a great truth, but I think that he has not stated it in the clearest and most accurate way. We cannot say that an organism survives because of qualities or peculiarities of structure that would give it an advantage in another environment, or at some future time. It does not maintain itself in the struggle of the here and now because it has potentialities that will enable its offspring to survive in the terrestrial elsewhere and hereafter. Nevertheless, it is an elementary truth that certain organisms develop surplus energy, and that surplus energy sometimes enables them to survive under circumstances that would bring death to creatures less generously endowed. Now it is these organisms endowed with surplus energy that transmit to posterity a rich legacy of ability, or, in certain instances, convey to fellow-creatures of their own generation a freely given help. Of all the higher organisms, and especially of all successful individuals in human society, it must be said that any advantage that they enjoy they owe to an efficiency that was transmitted to them by their ancestry, or freely made over to them by contemporaries endowed with surplus energy that has been expended in socially helpful ways. Of all the modes of socially distributed surplus energy, the most important are sympathy and its allied elements in the consciousness of kind. Given this force, the transformation of the weak by the strong necessarily becomes to some extent an uplifting, instead of an exploitation. Given the equilibration of energy through uplifting, there is a necessary growth of equality, and an increasing possibility of successful democracy of the liberal type.

GIDDINGS, *T. S. C.*

Assistance under Pericles

Pericles, on the other hand, informed the people, that they were in no way obliged to give any account of those

moneys to their allies, so long as they maintained their defence, and kept off the barbarians from attacking them; while in the meantime they did not so much as supply one horse or man or ship, but only found money for the service; "which money," said he, "is not theirs that give it, but theirs that receive it, if so be they perform the conditions upon which they receive it." And that it was good reason, that, now the city was sufficiently provided and stored with all things necessary for the war, they should convert the overplus of its wealth to such undertakings, as would hereafter, when completed, give them eternal honor, and for the present, while in process, freely supply all the inhabitants with plenty. With their variety of workmanship and of occasions for service, which summon all arts and trades and require all hands to be employed about them, they do actually put the whole city, in a manner, into state-pay; while at the same time she is both beautified and maintained by herself. For as those who are of age and strength for war are provided for and maintained in the armaments abroad by their pay out of the public stock, so, it being his desire and design that the undisciplined mechanic multitude that stayed at home should not go without their share of public salaries, and yet should not have them given them . . . he thought fit to bring in among them, with the approbation of the people, these vast projects of buildings and designs of works, that would be of some continuance before they were finished, and would give employment to numerous arts, so that the part of the people that stayed at home might, no less than those that were at sea or in garrisons or on expeditions, have a fair and just occasion of receiving the benefit and having their share of the public moneys.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by A. H. CLOUGH, III–II2.

Causes Determining Policy

The prevailing policies, internal and external, adopted and pursued by any given social group, at any given time, are proximately determined by subjective causes, that is, by certain states of the social mind. These include (1)

whatever consciousness there may be of differences and resemblances among the elements composing the group population, and between neighbouring groups or peoples, (2) those relations of effort and satisfaction which are expressed in the law of least effort, and (3) those relations of effort and satisfaction which are expressed in the law of diminishing return.

Proximate: Subjective Causes. — A social group of any kind or dimension, let it be a trade union, a township, or a nation, may be conceived as having so many elements of unity that it is easy for individuals who agree in their thoughts and purposes to have their own way with such of their fellows as differ from the prevailing type. Such a mass of agreements entering into a collective will is a collective sovereignty in its most general psychological aspect. In any community where the power and the wish of some section of the population to rule has been developed, differences and disagreements excite antagonism, distrust, and anxiety. It is perceived that there is strength in unity, and the passion to make all men within the community more alike begins to be consciously felt and to make itself a power. The ideal of unity is carefully formulated and is persistently kept before the minds of all members of the group.

Back of all this consciousness of differences and resemblances, and of the desire to diminish difference, lie the deep pyschological facts of relative difficulty, of relative effort. Extreme heterogeneity of type and purpose presents difficulty, often insuperable, to the leaders of coöperative undertakings. No passion is more immediately a consequence of the persistence of consciousness in the paths of least difficulty than is the desire to overcome the hindrances to

sympathy, to mutual agreement, and to social organization, that present themselves in a chaos of mental and moral qualities. To assimilate these to a common type is the first step toward achieving with least effort the satisfactions procurable by coöperation.

The toleration of variety, of criticism, and of discussion, in its turn, and the adoption of policies of liberty, are consequences of mental activity in the lines of least difficulty that appear when the returns of immediate satisfaction through homogeneity begin to diminish.

When immediate satisfactions, obtained by any given kind and degree of effort, begin to diminish, the outreaching of the mind for new means of satisfaction is analogous to the equilibration of energy between a material mass and its environment. The immediate consequence is an integration of consciousness. The sum-total of experiences, of knowledge, of sensations, is increased. In the very process of integration, however, differentiation and segregation begin. New pleasures and a continual increase of satisfaction in proportion to effort, come only with variation in the means of satisfaction, and through a putting forth of effort in that new and indirect mode which we call reason. In the social passion for homogeneity, we see the social process of integration; in the development of discussion and criticism, we see mental differentiation and segregation. These higher intellectual processes, therefore, are differential consequences of mental activity in the paths of least effort as truly as physical differentiation is a consequence of equilibration in the lines of least resistance.

In like manner, diminishing returns of satisfaction, popular unrest culminating in class warfare, and other increasing

tensions in the social system consequent upon abuses of liberty and excesses of individualism, produce reactions that initiate the democratic policies of equality.

Ultimate: Objective Causes. — The subjective causes of policy, themselves, have antecedents, chief among which are the relative energy and the relative advancement of neighbouring or communicating social groups. The group or the people or the race that is highly endowed with energy inevitably expends some portion of it in transforming its social, as well as its material, environment, and thereby undergoes integration, both in that mode which consists in a mere concentration of population, and in that other mode which consists in an increase of population through immigration. These changes facilitate assimilation, incite coöperation, and suggest the policies of unification. An ever improving communication among groups or peoples unequal in advancement provokes systematic comparison, and fosters that self-criticism and unrest which make for liberalism. Furthermore, all inequality, both of energy and of attainment, is necessarily unstable, tending at all times through equilibration to break down into equality.

The equilibration of energies between the strong and the weak assumes the mode of subjugation, and finds expression in policies of subjugation, as long as the mental and moral life of the strong is on a low plane. With the evolution of intelligence and a differentiation of economic wants, it becomes exploitation. It develops into assistance with that broadening and deepening of sympathy which comes through an increasingly intimate knowledge of the great world of nature and of mankind.

External-Internal Policies

In the concrete development of policy, external and internal policies are usually combined in highly complex schemes, and in these policy attains its highest development.

Militarism. — In militarism there is an almost perfect combination of policies of unification with policies of subjugation. The territory itself that a people occupies becomes an object of new interest. Adjoining geographical areas that, by reason of topographical features, naturally belong with the domain already possessed, are covetously regarded. By aggression and conquest the attempt is made to annex them, and to bring into the enlarging state all those outlying populations that are believed to be suitable components of the larger nation. This necessitates a perfect internal cohesion. Every interest is sacrificed to military discipline. To a great extent the organization of society becomes coercive. To a great degree individual freedom is sacrificed.

All this has its evil side, but it has also its good side, which must not be overlooked. Military discipline was one of the first and most powerful means by which assimilation was brought about, and a certain degree of formal like-mindedness was established throughout the early civic nation.

When conquest and military organization have accomplished their immediate purpose, and many petty states, and more or less heterogeneous populations have been consolidated, the passion for homogeneity manifests itself in further policies, the object of which is to perfect the general conformity of the entire population to a prevailing

type. These include the policies of unification in language, in religion, in conduct, through criminal law and sumptuary administration and through isolation. The latter is the extreme development of a militaristic régime. Feeling the superiority of its culture and institutions to those of other peoples, the nation may endeavour in a measure to cut itself off from intercourse with them, lest foreign laws and manners should contaminate, corrupt, and disintegrate the national life. This policy may have its justification under exceptional circumstances; but usually it has been a step toward national torpor. It has been a chief factor in producing what are called "arrested civilizations."

Exploitation. — Successful militarism prepares the way for exploitation and stimulates it. The annexation of territory, the creation of colonies, and the establishment of dependencies, bring lands and peoples hitherto foreign into direct relation with the conquering nation. Exclusive or preferential trade relations are established. Conquered peoples may be enslaved, or compelled to toil as serfs, or as a nominally free labour force kept under strict subjection by economic or other means, as is the policy of the English in Jamaica, and of the Dutch in the East Indian archipelago.

Decline of Militarism. — The rise and the decline of militarism perfectly conform to the laws of increasing and of diminishing return. For a time militarism brings in more than it costs. But a point is reached beyond which the costs increase faster than the returns. In the rivalry of nations for territory, the lands available for annexation by any one of them become fewer in number and more difficult to secure. The frontier is extended, and its defence

becomes more difficult and more costly. The maintenance of armies of increasing size entails a relative diminution of the industrial population available to support them. Nations vie with each other in perfecting the enginery of war, and the cost of all military operations is thereby increased. Militarism, in a word, works directly toward its own termination.

Disintegration and Free Energy. — When militarism comes to an end, either because of ill success or of unprofitableness, immense stores of energy hitherto devoted to political integration and the work of a centralized administration, are set free. Expending themselves upon internal affairs, they produce disintegration and render the whole social system more plastic. There is also an immense accumulation of energy which begins straightway to expend itself in new enterprises. Chief among these, for a time, are the undertakings of exploitive industry and commerce within the relatively undeveloped parts of the nation or empire.

Growth of Liberalism. — Economic exploitation, however, may not exhaust the free energy at disposal, and does not, if peace is long continued. Liberated thought and energy turn themselves upon other affairs also. They scrutinize institutions and laws. They rebel against a further coercion of the individual. Not infrequently they instigate revolutions. Material for the criticism of institutions is abundant, since contact with other nations, and the annexation of state after state, have brought into the growing empire peoples, laws, manners, customs, hitherto foreign and more or less strange. So much material for comparison shows many differences, as well as many resemblances, in social constitutions and policies,

and yields many suggestions for the modification or the reform of central and local governments.

Still more important is the great admixture of elements in the population, brought about by war, conquest, slavery, and trade. Both physical and mental plasticity are among the consequences of the assimilation of so many differing factors in the demotic composition.

In the plastic consciousness of an alert and versatile population the investigating, critical, and philosophical spirit arises. Discovery is pursued for its own sake; and geography, history, and science become serious intellectual interests. Then, as different communities and different stages of culture are compared, and as the dissatisfaction with existing conditions is analyzed, the idea of a possible improvement is conceived. Protestantism, in the large sense of the word, begins to be influential, and the now fully self-conscious community undertakes its own reorganization and advancement.

The nation that has thus become liberal and progressive attempts to pursue policies that shall maintain unity and stability, and yet shall guarantee liberty. It strives for the widest and freest world intercourse, realizing that contact with many peoples is an indispensable condition for catholicity of view and alertness of mind. Progressive peoples invariably distrust any policy that tends toward isolation. Free thought is encouraged. The fullest investigation and the freest discussion of every subject are approved. Instead of trying to compel all men to accept the same beliefs taught by authority, the liberal nation encourages every man to think for himself, to develop his own mental powers, to take an independent position upon every question and interest, knowing that reason is not a

chaotic or a lawless power, but is one that invariably brings men to agreement upon the basis of real knowledge and demonstrated truth. Finally, the liberal nation tries to perfect its civilization by a continued study of law and a development of legality, which it is ever striving to substitute for arbitrary authority. Only that nation which succeeds in perfecting the legal and the rational methods of government and procedure can preserve both individual liberty and public order.

Decline of Exploitation. — Like militarism, exploitation is governed by the laws of increasing and diminishing return. A point is found beyond which slavery or any mode of enforced labour becomes unprofitable in competition with free labour, and beyond which exclusiveness and privilege in commercial relations provoke an increasingly costly antagonism. Moreover, exploitive industry and commerce tend to exhaust certain natural resources, and they are consistent with relatively crude economic methods only.

The growth of liberalism coöperates with diminishing returns to bring exploitation to an end. Criticism, discussion, and knowledge reveal the weaknesses and crudities of the system, while world intercourse develops the understanding and the sympathy which revolt against the cruelties of exploitive methods.

Growth of Equality. — The decline of exploitation has among its inevitable consequences an actual approximation of groups, classes, and individuals toward equality of opportunity and power. The direction of free energy into the channels of discovery and invention multiplies opportunities. The growth of intelligence and sympathy which express themselves in policies of assistance, further equalizes both abilities and conditions.

The most powerful factor, however, making for equality is the competitive struggle of various groups and interests in the free society created by liberalism. Different economic interests make themselves felt in political activities and organizations, each of which, in its desire to strengthen itself, extends privileges and grants concessions to the weaker groups or classes in the social population. This has been the great force making for universal suffrage, for the extension of economic opportunity to the masses, and for the restriction of exploitive practices.

Reaction of Policy upon the Social Mind

While policies are products and expressions of the common feeling and thought, they also react upon the social mind, developing or inhibiting one or another of its modes. They may be creative of emotionalism, or of dogmatism, or, on the other hand, of a critical rationalism.

Reactions of Militarism: the Age of Faith. — As an expression of combative instincts and feelings, militarism gives free play to both instinct and emotion. Prolonged militarism is inhibitive of the higher intellectual activities. Not to mention its encouragement of brutality, it tends powerfully to develop the dogmatic habit of mind, since it necessarily accepts authority and requires obedience. Probably, however, the most important reaction of militarism upon the mental life is its continuous and enormous development of that attitude which is called faith. Military operations, at the best, are hazardous. A people engaging in them does not *know*, it only *believes* that its arms will be crowned with victory. It stakes everything, and, in proportion as it succeeds, it acquires an overwhelming faith in its destiny. The reaction, therefore, of

militarism is favourable to an authoritative type of religion rather than to scientific thought. So far from being in psychological contradiction, the militaristic and the dogmatically religious attitudes of mind naturally blend. The militaristic people is worshipful; it believes profoundly in divine favour and guidance; it exalts faith; it condemns scepticism; it reprobates any criticism of authority.

The reactions of militarism upon conduct and character also are profound, and essentially of the religious order. Successful militarism demands self-denial and sacrifice. Asceticism and austerity are created by it, and are exalted as peculiarly important virtues. With this attitude, however, is associated an expectation of future reward. Hardships and sacrifice are endured for a time, that victory and booty may be obtained at the end. The present, therefore, is belittled, and the future is exaggerated. The habit of mind created is that of future worldliness. The life of the present is nothing: a future condition is everything. This habit of mind is material for religious influences to work upon, and they rapidly convert it into a supreme regard for a future life, to which the present life should be to any extent subordinated.

Reactions of Exploitation. — In a somewhat less degree, yet powerfully, exploitation reacts very much as does militarism. Great commercial and industrial undertakings are great risks. They demand faith, and enormously develop it. They demand also present self-denial and sacrifice, a conversion of wealth from the passive mode of consumable goods into the active mode of working capital. Parsimony and thrift are the virtues that it extols. And, like militarism, exploitation is creative of future-worldliness. Not more than between militarism and an unquestioning

faith, is there any antagonism between capitalistic exploitation and a non-liberal kind of religion. The great entrepreneur may very naturally be a dogmatic religious leader. He is a man of faith, of authority, of future-worldliness.

Reactions of Peace: The Age of Science and Humanity. — The discontinuance of militarism and the diminution of exploitation, setting free boundless energies, giving opportunity for the growth of knowledge and sympathy, weakening the force of authority, allow the critical and investigative impulses to work themselves out in discovery, science, invention, and discussion. The scientific habit of mind gets the better of mere faith. Men wish to know; they are no longer satisfied merely to believe. And, no longer compelled to make extreme sacrifices, to practise the utmost self-denial, they begin to make more of the present life. Consuming more abundantly, they more carefully study the art of consumption, and all the arts awaken to new life. The consumption of wealth, in fact, becomes as important as production. The prevailing habit of mind becomes in a measure one of present-worldliness, and such future-worldliness as survives takes on a new colouring. It is more charged with sympathy and intelligence, and becomes increasingly a devotion to the continuing improvement of mankind.

PART III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

The Nature and Forms of Social Organization

Permanence of Coöperation

Many of the activities in which individuals combine their efforts are continued or repeated until they have become habitual; and the coöperating individuals in these cases sustain relatively permanent relations to one another. Habitual relations of the members of a society to one another, and persistent forms of coöperative activity, collectively, are called the Social Organization.

Public Sanction

When coöperation has become permanent, and the relations of coöperators have become stable, a further evolution of social organization results from a concurrence of concerted volition in its general or public phase with the concerted volition that is partial and private.

The relations themselves that men sustain to one another, and the forms of coöperative activity, spring up as a result of individual suggestion and practical convenience. Relations that are accidentally formed prove to be interesting, agreeable, and useful, and therefore are permanently maintained. Forms of coöperation that are invented for

a temporary purpose prove to be so successful that they, too, are persisted in. In all this we see nothing but the spontaneous action of resembling and sympathetic minds pursuing their own immediate practical interests through concerted volition of a purely private sort.

When, however, these spontaneously formed features of social organization have become so well established or so conspicuous that they challenge the attention of every member of the community, they become subjects of universal discussion and of general approval or disapproval. Subjected, then, to analysis and criticism, they finally are pronounced good or evil, or doubtful, by the concurrent opinion of the society. Their further development thenceforward is tolerated or encouraged by the state, or they are stamped out, and the individuals who attempt to maintain them are punished.

The essential basis of social organization in every stage of its history is like-mindedness, and all social organization is an expression of some mode of like-mindedness in the population.

Peculiarities in the development of social organization are to be accounted for partly by the passion of like-minded people to perfect and to extend like-mindedness itself, to make the community more and more homogeneous in mental and moral qualities; partly by a developing appreciation of the value of unlike-mindedness as a means of variation and progress; and partly by the combination and reconciliation of these two motives.

Forms of Organization

In every community social organization assumes certain great forms. These are, namely, (1) the Private and the

Public, (2) the Unauthorized and the Authorized (institutions), (3) the Unincorporated and the Incorporated, (4) the Component, and (5) the Constituent.

Public and Private Organization. — Public organization is coextensive with the state, including local divisions of the community that exercise public authority. It carries and transmits the coercive power of the state. The private organization, on the other hand, can put the coercive power of the state in motion only indirectly, by appealing to the government.

Institutions. — An institution is a social relation that is consciously permitted or established by adequate and rightful authority, in the last resort, by sovereignty.

Any social organization or relation that has grown up unperceived by the public becomes an institution when the attention of the state is called to it, and the state then permits it to exist, thereby authorizing it.

Incorporated and Unincorporated Organizations. — Social organizations that have become institutions may be incorporated or unincorporated. The incorporated organization is an institution that not only is authorized, to the extent of being tolerated by the state, but that also is established by a definite creative act of the state. Its plan of organization has been described by law; its powers have been fixed by law, and likewise its responsibilities. It has the rights and duties of a legal personality.

The incorporated organization may be either public or private. Municipalities are public corporations; manufacturing and trading companies are private corporations. A further characteristic of private corporations usually is a limited liability of their individual members.

All unincorporated organizations are private associa-

tions. A village, if unincorporated, is merely a private body. In civilized communities innumerable societies for all conceivable purposes have no legal status, and depend entirely upon the voluntary support of their individual members.

The Social Composition. — In every community that is larger than a single family, there is a grouping of individuals that brings together both sexes and all ages in those small organizations that we call families; brings families together in villages, towns, or cities; brings towns or cities together in provinces, departments, or commonwealths, and combines the latter in national states. This plan of organization, combining groups of those who dwell together in one place, region, or territory, may be called the Social Composition.

All component societies, except families and unincorporated villages, are public organizations.

The Social Constitution. — This is an organization of the individual members of the community into associations or groups, for carrying on special forms of activity or for maintaining particular interests. Each of these groupings may be called a Constituent Society.

Such associations are: business partnerships and corporations, political parties, churches, philanthropic societies, schools, universities, and scientific associations.

Most constituent societies are private organizations. Chief among exceptions is the state, the supreme political organization.

CHAPTER II

The Social Composition

Resemblance in Component Societies

A component society is wholly or partly a genetic aggregation. The smaller component groups, including families, and, sometimes, villages, may be products of genetic aggregation only. Such large component societies as cities and commonwealths are products of genetic aggregation and congregation together.

Tribal component societies insist on kinship. Civil component societies highly value a common blood, but do not demand it; instead, they require potential likeness. All component societies require mental and moral likeness; but, within the limits of a common morality, there may be no insistence upon any one point of mental or moral similarity, so long as the aggregate of resemblances remains large and varied. Subject to these conditions, the mental and moral differences among the members of a component society may be of any imaginable kind.

Types of Social Composition

Viewed from the standpoint of social composition, societies are of two great types: the Ethnic or Tribal, and the Civil or Demotic. Ethnic societies in turn are of two types, the metronymic and the patronymic. And, finally, any component society, ethnic or civil, metronymic or patronymic, may be endogamous or exogamous.

Ethnic and Demotic Societies. — Ethnic societies are genetic aggregations. A real or fictitious blood kinship is their chief social bond. They are otherwise known as tribal societies, and include all communities of uncivilized races which maintain a tribal organization. Demotic societies, while in some degree products of genetic aggregation, are largely congregate associations. They are groups of people that are bound together by habitual intercourse, mutual interests, and coöperation, emphasizing their mental and moral resemblance, and giving little heed to origins or to genetic relationships.

There yet survive, in various parts of the world, savage and barbarian communities of such varied stages of social organization that every form of social composition may still be observed and comparatively studied in actually existing communities.

Metronymic and Patronymic Societies. — A metronymic group is one in which all relationships are traced through mothers; relationships on the father's side are ignored. A patronymic group is one in which all relationships are traced in the male line, through fathers.

Every metronymic social group is named from some class of natural objects, such as a species of plant or animal, which is thought of as feminine in gender, and from which the group is supposed to have sprung. A class of objects so regarded is known among ethnologists as a totem, which is approximately its American Indian name. The totem is worshipped as possessing divine powers, and as maintaining a special protective oversight of the group; and the group in turn protects the totem from harm. Usually, no animal or plant of the totemic class may be slain or used for food; but probably there was a time

when the totemic species was the usual food supply of the group that afterward abstained from it.[1]

Each patronymic group is named from a real or fictitious male ancestor. Metronymy is presumably older than patronymy.

The Metronymic Clan in Shechem

And Abimelech, the son of Jerubbaal went to Shechem, unto his mother's brethren, and spake with them, and with all the family of the house of his mother's father, saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, whether is better for you, that all the sons of Jerubbaal, who are threescore and ten persons, rule over you, or that one rule over you? remember also that I am your bone and your flesh. And his mother's brethren spake of him in the ears of all the men of Shechem all these words: and their hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for they said, He is our brother.

Judges, Chap. ix. 1–3.

Metronymic Survivals among the Hebrews

And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine was sore in the land. And it came to pass, when he was come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, Behold now, I know that thou art a fair woman to look upon: and it shall come to pass, when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive. Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may be well with me for thy sake, and that my soul may live because of thee. And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair. And the princes of Pharaoh saw her, and praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. And he dealt well with Abram for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she-asses, and camels. And Jehovah plagued Pharaoh

[1] See Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia.*

and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife. And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife? Why saidst thou, She is my sister? so that I took her to be my wife: now therefore behold thy wife, take her, and go thy way. And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him: and they brought him on the way, and his wife, and all that he had.

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And Abraham journeyed from thence toward the land of the South, and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur; and he sojourned in Gerar. And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah. But God came to Abimelech in a dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, because of the woman that thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife. Now Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou slay even a righteous nation? Said he not himself unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother: in the integrity of my heart and the innocency of my hands have I done this. And God said unto him in the dream, Yea, I know that in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her. Now therefore restore the man's wife; for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine. And Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were sore afraid. Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou done unto us? and wherein have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done. And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing? And Abraham said, Because I thought, Surely the fear of God is not in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake. And moreover she is indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife: and it

came to pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy kindness which thou shalt show unto me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my brother. And Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and menservants and womenservants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife. And Abimelech said, Behold, my land is before thee: dwell where it pleaseth thee. And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver: behold, it is for thee a covering of the eyes to all that are with thee; and in respect of all thou art righted. And Abraham prayed unto God: and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maidservants; and they bare children. For Jehovah had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

Genesis, Chap. xii. 10–20 and Chap. xx.

Inheritance by Maternal Right

We will now proceed to describe in detail the order of succession to the intestate estate, that is, to the right of inheritance in property where a woman dies intestate, that is, without leaving directions as to the disposal of her estate.

The child is the natural heir to the mother's estate, and, therefore, it is a fixed rule that on the mother's death the child or children will come into possession of the property that belonged to her, which is explained by the fact, that the child is the natural heir, whether the mother bequeaths the property to the child or leaves no directions concerning it.

There is no distinction or difference amongst children. The child born in proper wedlock, the child born to a woman whilst in an unmarried state, the child born to her whilst in concubinage with a man of a higher caste than herself, and the child born to her whilst living with a man of an inferior caste — these several children — will have an equal right to the maternal inheritance.

Again, a son, whether he be a layman or a priest, or a daughter whether married in Déga or living in Bíni on her

mother's premises, (these) the male and female children, will all have an equal right to the (maternal) inheritance.

A son, though living in Bíni marriage with another family will have the same right of inheritance with his other brothers and sisters. The fact of his having gone away and contracted a Bíni marriage will not destroy his right. There are, however, exceptions in certain cases, and these will be detailed hereafter.

As we have shewn, the children's right of inheritance will only come into operation on the mother's death, and, therefore, the children have no power whatever over the mother's lands and any other property during her lifetime.

Le Mesurier and Pa' Nabokke, *Kandyan Law*, Chap. 5, Sec. I. 106.

Metronymic Survivals among the Tartars

They are joyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, even to their neare kinsfolkes except their mother, daughter and sister by the mothers side. For they use to marrie their sister by the fathers side only, and also the wife of their father after his decease. The younger brother also, or some other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceased. For, at the time of our aboad in the countrey, a certaine duke of Russia named Andreas, was accused before duke Baty for conveying the Tartars horses out of the land, and for selling them to others: and although it could not be prooved, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceased hearing this, came and made their supplication unto the forenamed duke, that the dukedome of Russia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceased brothers wife, and the woman also to take him unto her husband, according to the custome of the Tartars.

The voyage of Johannes de Plano Carpini unto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our Lord, 1246, Hakluyt's Voyages, edition of 1903, Vol. I. 139–140.

Metronymic Survivals in Salic Law

We need here only transcribe the title of the *Allodial Lands* of the Salic law; that famous text of which so many have talked, and which so few have read.

"1. If a man dies without issue, his father or mother shall succeed him. 2. If he has neither father nor mother, his brother or sister shall succeed him. 3. If he has neither brother nor sister, the sister of his mother shall succeed him. 4. If his mother has no sister, the sister of his father shall succeed him. 5. If his father has no sister, the nearest relative by the male side shall succeed. 6. Not any part of the Salic land shall pass to females; but it shall belong to the males; that is, the male children shall succeed their father."

It is plain that the first five articles relate to the inheritance of a man who dies without issue; and the sixth to the succession of him who has children.

When a man dies without children, the law ordains that neither of the two sexes shall have the preference to the other, except in certain cases. In the first two degrees of succession, the advantages of the males and females were the same; in the third and fourth, the females had the preference; and the males in the fifth.

Tacitus points out the source of these extravagances. "The sister's children," says he, "are as dear to their uncle as to their own father. There are men who regard this degree of kindred as more strict, and even more holy. They prefer it when they receive hostages." Hence it proceeds that our earliest historians speak in such strong terms of the love of the kings of the Franks for their sisters and their sisters' children. And, indeed, if the children of the sister were considered in her brother's house as his own children, it was natural for these to regard their aunt as their mother.

The sister of the mother was preferred to the father's sister; this is explained by other texts of the Salic law. When a woman became a widow, she fell under the guardianship of her husband's relatives; the law preferred to this guardianship the relatives by the females before those by the males. Indeed, a woman who entered into a family joining herself with those of her own sex, became more united to her relatives by the female than by the male. Moreover, when a man killed another, and had not wherewithal to pay the pecuniary penalty, the law permitted him to deliver up his substance, and his relatives were

to supply the deficiency. After the father, mother, and brother, the sister of the mother was to pay, as if this tie had something in it most tender: now the degree of kindred which imposes the burdens ought also to confer the advantages.

The Salic law enjoins that after the father's sister, the succession should be held by the nearest relative male; but if this relative was beyond the fifth degree, he should not inherit. Thus a female of the fifth degree might inherit to the prejudice of a male of the sixth; and this may be seen in the law of the Ripuarian Franks (a faithful interpreter of the Salic law), under the title of *Allodial Lands*, where it closely adheres to the Salic law on the same subject.

If the father left issue, the Salic law would have the daughters excluded from the inheritance of the Salic land, and determined that it should belong to the male children.

It would be easy for me to prove that the Salic law did not absolutely exclude the daughters from the possession of the Salic land, but only in the case where they were debarred by their brothers. This appears from the letter of the Salic law; which, after having said that the women shall possess none of the Salic land but only the males, interprets and restrains itself by adding, "that is, the son shall succeed to the inheritance of the father."

MONTESQUIEU, *De l'esprit des loix*, translated by THOMAS NUGENT, Vol. I. 304–306.

The Agnates

Agnati are those who are related to each other through males, that is are related through the father, as, for instance, a brother by the same father, or the son of such a brother, the son of such a son, or, again, a father's brother, or a father's brother's son, or the son of such a son. But those who are related to us through females are not *agnati*, but merely *cognati* by natural relationship. Thus the son of a father's sister is related to you not by agnation, but by cognation, and you are also related to him by cognation; as children belong to the family of their father, and not to that of their mother.

JUSTINIAN, *Institutes*, Lib. I. xv. 1. Cf. GAIUS, i. 156.

Endogamous and Exogamous Societies. — An endogamous society is one in which the men may, and usually do, take women of their own group as wives. An exogamous group is one in which men, by sacred custom, are forbidden to marry women of their own group, and to which they bring wives from other groups.

The family group is almost everywhere exogamous, although endogamous — that is incestuous — families are found in some of the lowest savage communities and occasionally elsewhere. The totemic kindred is sometimes endogamous and sometimes exogamous. Larger ethnic societies are usually endogamous. In civil societies larger than family groups restrictions of endogamy and exogamy have disappeared, although actual marriage custom remains either prevailingly endogamous or prevailingly exogamous.

The Composition of Ethnic Societies

In the composition of ethnic societies families are combined in hordes, hordes, differentiated by clan organization, are grouped in clusters, horde clusters are consolidated into tribes, and tribes are combined in confederations. Family, horde, and tribe are the component groups of ethnic society.

The Family is the simplest component society.

The simplest form of the human family is a pairing arrangement of short duration. Among the Mincopis, of the Andaman Islands, it is customary for the father to live with the mother until after their child is weaned, and then to seek another wife. A similar arrangement, somewhat more stable, but seldom of lifelong duration, is found among the Blackfellows of Australia, the northern Eskimo of Greenland, and the Amazonian Indians of Brazil.

When the Hawaiian Islands were first invaded by whites, a family organization was discovered which is called by its Hawaiian name, Punaluan. It is constituted by the marriage of a group of brothers to a group of sisters, who, however, are not sisters to their husbands. Each woman is a wife to all the men, and each man a husband to all the women. This form still exists among the Todas of India.

The polyandrian family, in which a woman has several husbands, is usually found among tribes that have passed beyond the lowest savagery into the somewhat higher stage of barbarism.

There are two well-marked types of polyandry, known respectively as Tibetan and Nair. In Tibetan polyandry, so called because it has been most carefully studied in Tibet, the husbands are brothers. This is the commoner form. In Nair polyandry, which takes its name from a district of southeastern India, the woman's husbands are not related.

The polygynous family, in which the husband has two or more wives or concubines, has been, and still is, even more general than polyandry.

Polygyny depends upon the ability of the husband to support a large domestic establishment; and it is therefore practically confined to the relatively well-to-do classes in those communities that tolerate it. It usually happens therefore, that in polygynous societies the poorer classes are either monogamous or polyandrian.

As societies have advanced in culture, monogamy, or the marriage union of one man with one woman, has everywhere tended to displace polyandry and polygyny. Theoretically, a monogamous marriage is of lifelong duration. Actually, however, divorce is nearly everywhere allowed for various causes.

Polyandry in Ceylon

It is frequently the custom in this country for one man to have at the same time a number of wives, and for one woman to have at the same time a number of husbands. It is also a frequent custom for two or three men to have two or three wives in common.

After the parents have given their daughter in marriage to a man, that man, either to obtain assistance or to prevent a division of the estate, (lit., on account of the estate being too small for division) when intending to live in associated marriage, cannot do so except with his wife's consent.

If a married man consents to make his marriage a communal one with another person who is not his brother, even though the wife be willing, if the parents do not give their consent, the associated marriage cannot be arranged.

If a woman of her own accord goes after another man, and her first husband thereupon separates himself from her, the first marriage is cancelled.

The husband has the power, without regard to the consent of his first wife, to marry others as he pleases. But, although he has such power, if the first wife be unwilling, she can obtain a divorce, which divorce is looked upon as one where the husband no longer requires his wife.

LE MESURIER and PA' NABOKKE, *Kandyan Law*, Chap. 3, Sec. V. 22.

Under the Kandyan Laws polyandry, as well as polygamy, was allowed without limitation as to the number of husbands or wives. A woman usually had two husbands, and there have been cases where a woman had as many as seven. The joint husbands were, as a rule, members of the same family and most frequently brothers, and lived in perfect harmony. The children of these promiscuous marriages acknowledged all the husbands, however numerous, of their mother as their fathers, calling them "great father," "little father," etc., and were, till recently, the recognized heirs of them all. The wife could not however take a second husband without the consent of the first, though it was competent to the husband to take a second wife without consulting the wishes of his first spouse. It

was in the power of the wife to refuse to admit a second associated husband at the request of the first husband, even should the former be a brother of the latter; and should the proposed second husband not be a brother of the first, the consent of the wife's family also was required to the double connection.

Before the occupation of Ceylon by Europeans no infamy appears to have attached to such a union. It was not forbidden by Buddhism and not confined to any caste or class among the Sinhalese, being more or less general amongst the high and low, the rich and poor. Sir John Lubbock in his *Prehistoric Times* speaks of an intelligent Kandyan chief who was "scandalized at the utter barbarism of living with only one wife and never parting until separated by death." The apology of the poor for the custom of polyandry is that they cannot afford each to maintain a family; while the argument usually urged by the wealthy is that such unions are politic, as they unite "families, concentrate property and influence, and conduce to the interest of children, who, having two fathers, will still have a father though they may lose one." If the Dutch historian Valentyn is to be believed, King Raja Sinha I. was born in polyandry, and Wija Bahu VII. had one wife in common with his brother.

Both polyandry and polygamy in the Kandyan Provinces were, till recently, recognized by the British Government, who had agreed by the Convention of 1815 to protect the rights of descent and inheritance of the Kandyans as regulated by their local customs; but at the request of the chiefs and other intelligent Kandyans the Government passed a law in 1859 depriving the practices (which were the frequent cause of litigation, leading to murders and other crimes) of legal recognition. Though the law does not recognize its existence, polyandry still prevails to some extent in the backward districts of the Kandyan Provinces.

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As a rule, two uterine brothers espouse a common wife. The children of this matrimonial joint stock company — a physical impossibility from a scientific point of view — designate the elder of the two parents "elder father" and the younger "younger father." Davy in his *Interior of*

Ceylon, p. 287, refers, "to a very acute old Kandyan chief who, with his brother, had one wife only in common. The children called the elder brother 'great papa' and the younger 'little papa.' There appeared to be perfect harmony in the family." A local writer recalls an incident related in the *Ceylon Observer* of a Korala (highland chief), who, speaking of the insolent behaviour of a certain lad towards himself, remarked: "He behaves thus to me, who am one of his fathers." In the case of three brothers living in association with one wife, the "intermediate" brother had also a distinguishing appellation, "*medduma piya*" or "middle father." And so with the mothers, who according to their respective ages, would be "elder mother," "intermediate mother," and "younger mother." Even if they were not full brothers and sisters, a sharp distinction is drawn between the two classes of paternal and maternal uncles and aunts. Paternal uncles and maternal aunts are regarded as more closely related to a Kandyan than paternal aunts and maternal uncles. The latter stand upon quite a different footing to the former, who have a quasi-parental rank; they are "big father" or "little father," "big mother" or "little mother," according as they are older or younger than the parent to whom they are related by blood. They rank with step-parents, the others with fathers- and mothers-in-law. Less respect appears to be felt for paternal aunts and maternal uncles, who are not honoured with such titles as "mother" and "father." Their children are called "cousins," while the children of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt are regarded as having a quasi-fraternal relationship, and are spoken of as "brothers" and "sisters." A Kandyan even applies those terms to still more distant collateral relatives, provided always that the connecting links, so to speak, in the chain of relationship are paternal uncles and maternal aunts.

J. A. Gunaratna, *Polyandry in Ceylon*, 1–2; 16–17.

Bi'ni and Di'ga Marriages

As paternal and maternal right of inheritance arise from marriage, the different customs regarding matrimony in this Sinhalese kingdom will be here described.

Matrimony is of two kinds. Bi'ni and Di'ga.

A Bi'ni marriage is one in which the husband contracts to go and live in the wife's house or in any family residence of hers.

The conducting of the wife to, and the living in the husband's house or in any family residence of his — or, if he does not own a house and lands, the taking her as his wife and the conducting her away from her family to a place of lodging — constitutes a Di'ga marriage.

For a marriage to be in accordance with the proper customs of the country, the following five customary festivities should be observed; and for persons of rank the marriage ceremonies are as follows: —

1. When a wife is sought for a man, the parents or a chief relation of the bridegroom will inform a chief relation of the family of the woman of equal caste, that they are desirous of forming an alliance.

If the proposed match is approved of by the parents of the bride and her family relations, intimation thereof is given to the bridegroom's family; whereupon his friends visit the bride, and, having determined on the marriage, partake of food and betel.

A relation of the bridegroom's family then goes with a pingo to the bride's house and obtains her horoscope, which is then compared with the bridegroom's in its good and bad aspects, a lucky hour for the marriage is determined on, and information thereof is sent to the parents or the guardians of the bride, by whom the necessary arrangements are made.

2. The bridegroom then, preceded by presents, starts with his relations and attendants to conduct the bride. When close to the bride's house some of her relations, coming out to meet the party, conduct it with due respect to the house.

Before the arrival of the lucky hour the mother, or some other fit relation of the bridegroom, presents the mother of the bride with a "kiri-kada-helaya" (white cloth) and a suit of apparel, while the father of the bride gives the bridegroom a suit of clothes. The lucky hour having come, the bridegroom, after giving a he'laya (cloth) to the bride, throws a chain over her neck, and presents her with a set of female apparel.

Arrayed in this, she steps on to the Magul-po'ruwa (a raised seat), together with the bridegroom. A maternal uncle of the bride or some other principal member of her family then joins together, with a chain, the little fingers of the right hands of the bride and bridegroom, who thereupon turn three times round to the right. The chain is then taken off and the bridegroom takes a seat prepared for him on the magul-po'ruwa. Some balls of the cakes, rice, milk, etc., kept on the magul-pata (festal-dish), are then made by some chief member of the family and handed to the bride and bridegroom, who thereupon exchange them. After the assembled guests have been fed and betel and sandalwood distributed amongst them, on the bride and bridegroom leaving the bride's house, a close male relation of the bride's family accompanies them; and this relation, on the approach of the party to the bridegroom's residence, is met by an elderly kinsman of the bridegroom and greeted with due respect.

At the lucky hour the bride and bridegroom enter the room prepared for them.

3. The person who came from the bride's house having been hospitably entertained, on the seventh day after, the ceremony of pouring water on the head takes place. A maternal aunt and uncle of the bride together, or some other two chief persons of the bride's family, come to the bridegroom's house, and at the lucky hour the uncle pours water on the heads of the married couple and goes away.

4. A few days after this the bride's parents or her principal guardian relations pay the husband and wife a visit, and according to their means present a dowry of moveables and lands, and depart.

5. After this the husband and wife visit the wife's parents. This constitutes a Di'ga marriage with the five ceremonies.

Le Mesurier and Pa' Nabokke, *Kandyan Law*, Chap. 3, Sec. I. 17–19.

Polyandry in Britain

The most civilized of all these nations are they who inhabit Kent, which is entirely a maritime district; nor do their customs differ much from Gallic customs. Most of

the inland inhabitants do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh, and are clad with skins. All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which occasions a bluish colour, and thereby have a more terrible appearance in fight. They wear their hair long, and have every part of their body shaved except their head and upper lip. Ten and even twelve have wives common to them, and particularly brothers among brothers, and parents among their children; but if there be any issue by these wives, they are reputed to be the children of those by whom respectively each was first espoused when a virgin.

CÆSAR, *De Bello Gallico*, V. 14.

Polyandry in Italy

After the seventeenth century men say [in Venice] that "marriage is purely a civil ceremony which binds opinion and not conscience." Of several brothers one alone, ordinarily, marries; the embarrassment of perpetuating the family falls on him; the others often live under the same roof with him and are the sigisbes of his wife. Three or four combine together to support a mistress in common.

TAINE, *Italy, Florence and Venice*, 267.

Survival of Wife Capture and Sexual Taboo

At midnight, or sometimes later, when the guests are about to depart, there prevails in some villages a custom which goes by the name of *den borten abtanzen*, dancing down the bride's crown. This head-covering, which I have already described, is the sign of her maidenhood, which she must lay aside now that she has become a wife, and it is danced off in the following manner: All the married women present, except the very oldest and most decrepit, join hands — two of them, appointed as brides-women, taking the bride between them. Thus forming a wide circle, they dance backward and forward round and round the room, sometimes forming a knot in the centre, sometimes far apart, till suddenly, either by accident or on purpose, the chain is broken through at one place, which is the signal for all to rush out into the courtyard, still

holding hands. From some dark corner there now springs unexpectedly a stealthy robber, one of the bridesmen, who has been lying there in ambush to rob the bride of her crown. Sometimes she is defended by two brothers or relations, who, dealing out blows with twisted up handkerchiefs or towels, endeavor to keep the thief at a distance; but the struggle always ends with the loss of the head-dress, which the young matron bewails with many tears and sobs. The brideswomen now solemnly invest her with her new head-gear, which consists of a snowy cap and veil, held together by silver or jewelled pins, sometimes of considerable value. This head-dress, which fits close to the face, concealing all the hair, has a nun-like effect, but is not unbecoming to fresh young faces.

Sometimes, after the bride is invested in her matronly head-gear, she, along with two other married women (in some villages old, in others young), is concealed behind a curtain or sheet, and the husband is made to guess which is his wife, all three trying to mislead him by grotesque gestures from beneath the sheet.

On the morning after the wedding bridesmen and brideswomen early repair to the room of the newly married couple, presenting them with a cake in which hairs of cows and buffaloes, swine's bristles, feathers, and egg shells are baked. Both husband and wife must at least swallow a bite of this unsavory compound, to insure the welfare of cattle and poultry during their married life.

After the morning meal the young wife goes to church to be blessed by the priest, escorted by the two brideswomen, walking one on either side. While she is praying within, her husband meanwhile waits at the church door, but no sooner does she reappear at the threshold than the young couple are surrounded by a group of masked figures, who playfully endeavor to separate the wife from her husband. If they succeed in so doing, then he must win her back in a hand-to-hand fight with his adversaries, or else give money as ransom. It is considered a bad omen for the married life of the young couple if they be separated on this occasion; therefore the young husband takes his stand close against the church-door, to be ready to clutch his

wife as soon as she steps outside — for greater precaution often holding her round the waist with both hands during the dance which immediately ensues in front of the church, and at which the newly married couple merely assist as spectators.

E. GERARD, *The Land beyond the Forest*, 108–109.

Causes Determining the Form of the Family. — Although the origin and historical evolution of the forms of the family have been the subject of patient investigation, the subject still remains in some measure obscure. This is more particularly true of the Punaluan and other forms of polyandry.

Hints of the probable origin of polygynous relations are given by various animal species. Males fight among themselves for possession of the females of the band, with the frequent result that the weaker males are killed, disabled, or driven out.

From this familiar fact, many writers have argued, as Darwin did in opposition to the views of investigators like Morgan and McLennan, that polygyny must be older than polyandry, notwithstanding an immense mass of ethnological evidence that points the other way.

Possibly, however, the evidence is not quite so conflicting as has been supposed, and a clew to its interpretation may be offered in a fact that has not adequately been weighed.

In contests among males for the possession of females it sometimes happens that a few strong males are vanquished by the united opposition of a larger number of weaker males of approximately equal strength one with another. A natural consequence of this result is a communistic or Punaluan polyandry. In other instances, a group of males, brothers perhaps, driven out of the parent band, and wandering

apart by themselves, may appropriate any stray females that they may discover, or may on occasion steal them, thereby establishing polyandry of the Tibetan type. Again, in yet other instances, solitary males, driven from parent bands, meeting one another by accident, may thenceforth dwell and hunt together, and, stealing or otherwise appropriating females whenever possible, establish polyandry of the Nair type.

It would seem, therefore, that there is no necessity for supposing that any one form of the family group is antecedent to all others. All may be alike primitive, all may in fact have originated simultaneously. Having come into being, the struggle for existence would determine which form should predominate at any given time and place. The simple pairing family of brief duration seems to be the one that best holds its own among the lowest savages, where the conditions of life are not too severe. Polyandry, with its restricted birth-rate, best holds its own where the struggle for existence is especially severe. McLennan is probably right in his conclusion that polyandry is the oldest prevailing or general form of the family group, and certainly the oldest form of marriage, meaning thereby a relation of the sexes that is approved or sanctioned by the group. Polygyny is made possible as a prevailing form only where economic conditions are exceptionally favourable.

The Horde. — This is a name applied to a small social group composed of a few families, and comprising not more than from twenty-five to one hundred persons in all.

No such horde is anywhere found living in absolute isolation. It is always in communication with other similar hordes of the same race, language, and culture. Under

the influence of excitement or of fear, or to share an unusual food supply, or for the purpose of migration, hordes may temporarily congregate in large numbers; but they do not permanently combine with one another under the leadership of a common chief for military or political action, and there is no organization of a religious or industrial character that binds them together in a larger whole.

In the systems of consanguinity — blood relationship — found among the least advanced hordes now existing, there are no such distinctions as those of cousin, uncle and aunt, nephew and niece. All men and women of the same generation call themselves brothers and sisters. All women of the preceding generation are mothers. All men of the preceding generation are fathers. All boys of the younger generation are sons. All girls of the younger generation are daughters. This, of course, is such a system of relationships as would come into existence if a large number of men and women lived together as a single family. Extensive philological researches have demonstrated that in every part of the world, including western Europe, the systems of relationship that now prevail were preceded in prehistoric times by the one that has just been described.

Contributions to Well-being. — In small endogamous groups there grew an affection that was all the more intense because of its limited range, and was in strong contrast to the enmity that doubtless existed between group and group. We have in the words "kindliness," "geniality," and "gentleness," a connecting link with early human communities; for these words originally meant that which pertains to a kindred or group of kin related through the mother.

The Clan. — The tracing of kinship in one line of descent only, through mothers or through fathers, is characteristic of ethnic society, both savage and barbarian. It gives rise to that curious group of kindred which is generically known as the Clan.

Any group of kindred which includes all descendants of a first mother through her daughters, granddaughters, and so on, and excludes all descendants through her sons, grandsons, and so on, is a metronymic clan. In like manner, any group of kindred which includes all descendants of a first father through his sons, grandsons, and so on, and excludes all descendants through his daughters, granddaughters, and so on, is a patronymic clan.

The metronymic clan is a totemic kindred [1] and is sometimes called a totem-kin. The totem-kin is supposed to be descended from the totem, conceived as an ancestor, and all members of the kindred regard themselves as brothers or sisters to all individuals of the totem.

The habit of marking or tattooing the members of a totem-kin with a picture or symbol of the totemic object leads among some people, as the Australians, to an inclusion of all persons so named or marked in one kindred, though they may not be in fact blood relatives. In its primitive form of the totem-kin, therefore, the clan is partly a real and partly a nominal kindred by blood.

The patronymic clan, usually known by its Latin name of *gens*, is a more definite kindred than the metronymic clan, though it too is often enlarged by the adoption of individual members not actually kindred in blood. The clan of the Greeks was called the γένος, and that of the Romans the *gens*. The latter word was used by Morgan

[1] Cf. *ante*, 434.

to designate the clan in all its varieties, including the totem-kin. A later usage makes "clan" the generic word, and reserves "gens" for the clan of the Greeks and of the Romans. The word "clan" itself is Celtic. The clan of the Hindoos is called the *gôtra*, and that of the Arabs the *ḥayy*.

There are hordes of savages in which no certain trace of clan organization has been found. On the other hand, the Australian horde clusters are elaborately differentiated into totemic kindreds.[1]

The Totem and Totemism

A totem is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation. The name is derived from an Ojibway (Chippeway) word "totem," the correct spelling of which is somewhat uncertain. It was first introduced into literature, so far as appears, by J. Long, an Indian interpreter of last century, who spelt it *totam*. The form *toodaim* is given by the Rev. Peter Jones, himself an Ojibway; *dodaim* by Warren and (as an alternative pronunciation to totem) by Morgan; and *ododam* by Francis Assikinack, an Ottawa Indian. According to the abbé Thavenet the word is properly *ote*, in the sense of "family or tribe," possessive *otem*, and with the personal pronoun *nind otem*, "my tribe," "*kit otem*" "thy tribe." In English the spelling *totem* (Keating, James, Schoolcraft, etc.) has become established by custom. The connexion between a man and his totem is mutually beneficent; the totem protects the man, and the

[1] On the origin and evolution of the clan, see *Principles of Sociology*, 270–273. For detailed information the student should consult *The League of the Iroquois*, *Ancient Society*, and other writings of Lewis H. Morgan; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, and *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*; Henry Sumner Maine, *Ancient Law*; the Reports and Transactions of Anthropological and Ethnological Societies, and especially the Reports of the American Bureau of Ethnology.

man shows his respect for the totem in various ways, by not killing it if it be an animal, and not cutting or gathering it if it be a plant. As distinguished from a fetich, a totem is never an isolated individual, but always a class of objects, generally a species of animals or of plants, more rarely a class of inanimate natural objects, very rarely a class of artificial objects.

Considered in relation to men, totems are of at least three kinds:—(1) the clan totem, common to a whole clan, and passing by inheritance from generation to generation; (2) the sex totem, common either to all the males or to all the females of a tribe, to the exclusion in either case of the other sex; (3) the individual totem, belonging to a single individual and not passing to his descendants. Other kinds of totems exist and will be noticed, but they may perhaps be regarded as varieties of the clan totem. The latter is by far the most important of all; and where we speak of totems or totemism without qualification the reference is always to the clan totem.

. . . The clan totem is reverenced by a body of men and women who call themselves by the name of the totem, believe themselves to be of one blood, descendants of a common ancestor, and are bound together by common obligations to each other and by a common faith in the totem. Totemism is thus both a religious and a social system. In its religious aspect it consists of the relations of mutual respect and protection between a man and his totem; in its social aspect it consists of the relations of the clansmen to each other and to men of other clans. In the later history of totemism these two sides, the religious and the social, tend to part company; the social system sometimes survives the religious; and, on the other hand, religion sometimes bears traces of totemism in countries where the social system based on totemism has disappeared. How in the origin of totemism these two sides were related to each other it is, in our ignorance of that origin, impossible to say with certainty. But on the whole the evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the two sides were originally inseparable; that, in other words, the farther we go back, the more we should find that the clansman regards himself and his

totem as beings of the same species, and the less he distinguishes between conduct towards his totem and towards his fellow clansmen. For the sake of exposition, however, it is convenient to separate the two. We begin with the religious side.

. . . The members of a totem clan call themselves by the name of their totem, and commonly believe themselves to be actually descended from it.

Thus the Turtle clan of the Iroquois are descended from a fat turtle, which, burdened by the weight of its shell in walking, contrived by great exertions to throw it off, and thereafter gradually developed into a man. The Bear and Wolf clans of the Iroquois are descended from bears and wolves respectively. The Cray-Fish clan of the Choctaws were originally cray fish and lived underground, coming up occasionally through the mud to the surface. Once a party of Choctaws smoked them out, and, treating them kindly, taught them the Choctaw language, taught them to walk on two legs, made them cut off their toe nails and pluck the hair from their bodies, after which they adopted them into the tribe. But the rest of their kindred, the cray fish, are still living underground. The Carp clan of the Outaouaks are descended from the eggs of a carp which had been deposited by the fish on the banks of a stream and warmed by the sun. The Ojibways are descended from a dog. The Crane clan of the Ojibways are descended from a pair of cranes, which after long wanderings settled on the rapids at the outlet of Lake Superior, where they were transformed by the Great Spirit into a man and woman.

FRAZER, *Totemism*, 1–4.

The Clan in Ireland

Tuath, *Cinel*, and *Clann*, were the words used interchangeably to denote what we now call indifferently a clan or tribe. It resembled the *Gens* of ancient Rome in that all the members of it claimed descent from a remote *fine*, and from a common ancestor as head of that *fine*, and were therefore kinsfolk, were entitled severally to various rights dependent on the degree of relationship and other facts,

and formed collectively a state, political and proprietorial, with a distinct municipal individuality and life, with a legislature of its own and an army *in gremio;* but in these two latter respects slightly subject to, and forming a member of, a superior state consisting of a federation of similar communities. Each clan was composed of a number of septs, and each sept was composed of a number of *fines*. Kinship was the web and bond of society throughout the whole clan; and all lesser rights whatsoever were subject to those of the clan. Theoretically it was a true kinship of blood, but in practice it may have been to some extent one of absorption or adoption. Strangers settling in the district, conducting themselves well, and intermarrying with the clan, were after a few generations indistinguishable from it. A chief or a flaith also occasionally wished to confer on a stranger the dignity and advantages of clanship — practically meaning citizenship — and when he had obtained the sanction of the clan assemblies, the stranger was adopted in the presence of the assembled clan by public proclamation. In the course of time the name *Tuath* came to be applied to the district occupied by a clan, and *Cinel* (pronounced Kinnel) was then the word used to denote the clan itself. *Fine* (pronounced Finna) was also sometimes used in the broad sense of clan, and this was not strictly incorrect since every clan originated in a small *fine;* but the word *fine* properly meant one of a number of sub-organisms of which the clan consisted. It was a miniature clan, and in fact the germ of a clan and the real social and legal unit. It was considerably more comprehensive than our word *family*. It has been compared with the Roman *familia*, but it was more comprehensive than even that. When complete it consisted of the *Flaith-fine* (also called Ceann-fine), and sixteen other male members, old members not ceasing to belong to it until sufficient new members had been born or adopted into it, upon which event happening the old were in rotation thrust out to the sept, and perhaps began to form new *fines*. Women, children, and servants, did not enter into this computation. The *flaith-fine*, or paterfamilias, was the head and most important member of the group, in some sense its guardian and protector, and was the only

member in full possession and free exercise of all the rights of citizenship. All the members had certain distinct and well-recognized rights, and, if of full age, were *sui juris* and mutually liable to and for each other; but so long as they remained in the *fine*, the immediate exercise of some of their rights was vested in the *flaith-fine*, who should act for them or in whose name they should act. "No person who is under protection is qualified to sue."

There are various conflicting theories as to the persons of whom and the manner in which this organism was composed, and even as to whether it was in fact ever composed or ever existed except as a legal fiction; and no explanation of it or conjecture about it is free from difficulty. Having regard, however, to the frequent mention of it, and of the "seventeen men" of whom it consisted, by various legal and other writers at times far apart and in various connections, it is quite impossible to believe that it was fictitious; but in practice it may not often have attained or long retained that perfect organization which the law contemplated; and the law itself may have contemplated different things at different times. Whether the members of it became members on their birth, or on attaining manhood and acquiring property; whether they included or represented all within the fifth degree of relationship, or all within the seventeenth degree, are matters in dispute. Without presuming to settle them, let us construct a provisional *fine* for the purpose of conveying some idea of what it was like. When complete it consisted of "seventeen men" who were always classified in the following manner:—

1. The *Geilfine* consisted of the *flaith-fine* and his four sons or other nearest male relatives, most of whose rights were vested in him, who on his death were entitled to the largest share of his property, and would succeed to the largest portion of his responsibilities.

2. The *Deirbhfine* consisted of the four male members next to the foregoing in degree of relationship to the *flaith-fine*, upon whom, contingently, a smaller share of his property and responsibilities devolved.

3. The *Iarfine* consisted of the four males whose degree of relationship was still farther removed, and upon whom, contingently, still less property and responsibility devolved

4. The *Innfine* consisted of four males the furthest removed from the *flaith-fine*, upon whom, contingently, the smallest portion of his property and responsibility devolved.

On the birth of a new male member in the first of these groups (or, according to a more probable theory, on his becoming a man and owner of property), the eldest member of that group was crushed out to the second group, the eldest member of the second group was crushed out to the third, the eldest member of the third was crushed out to the fourth, and the eldest member of the fourth, if he had not died, was crushed out of the *fine* altogether and became an ordinary member of the *sept*, or clan, with no special rights or responsibilities in connection with his former *flaith-fine*. Thus the members of the groups were cast off like the coats of an onion, not all at once, but gradually, the groups themselves remaining complete all the time, and never exceeding four members each. And as they were cast off they suffered a loss of rights, but gained in freedom of action and freedom from liabilities, and the *flaith-fine* ceased to represent them, act for them, or be responsible for them. The members of the *fine* also owed a mutual responsibility to each other, were bound in certain cases to enter into suretyship for each other, were liable to compensate for crimes committed by any one of them if the criminal failed to do so; and in general the law held that there was a solidarity among them. A member who became a criminal was, of course, primarily liable for his own crimes. It would also appear that a person otherwise entitled to become a member in a certain event, forfeited that right, with all the advantages attached to it, by crime. My own opinion is that the members of the *fine* were all full-grown men living on divisions of a farm which had been originally one; yet that the group included only persons within the fifth or sixth degree of kindred, and did not extend to the seventeenth, and that the organisation was a natural outcome of the ordinary sentiment of family affection, perhaps somewhat intensified, but at all events systematised and enforced by law.

Various other *fines* are mentioned, and the word *fine* is used in a number of combinations; but the organism

provisionally outlined is the only one of the name of real importance; and the text, after stating much about the seventeen men, adds, "It is then family relations cease." Presumably it was then the rights of inheritance and the dangers of liability also ceased. Where in the system one should look for the exact counterpart of the modern family is not clear; nor is it clearly known whether the number of women, their presence or absence, at all affected the constitution of the *fine*. The original purpose and main object of the whole system are, for lack of true knowledge, matters of much conjecture. It is probable that the system continued perfect only so long as the Celtic race remained pure and predominant, and that it became disorganised in the course of the thirteenth century.

The *Sept* was an intermediate organism between the *fine* and the clan. It consisted of a number of *fines*, as the clan consisted of a number of *septs*. It was one of the divisions of the clan assigned a specific part of the territory, and over it and this district a *flaith* was supposed to preside. No rule is stated, and I think none existed, as to the number of persons or of *fines* that might be in a *sept*. The right of the *sept* to undisturbed possession of its assigned portion of the territory was greater than that of the *fine*, was subject only to that of the clan, and was very rarely interfered with.

The rules of kinship by which the clan was formed were the same rules by which status was determined; and this status in turn determined what a man's rights and obligations were, and largely supplied the place of contract and of laws affecting the disposition and devolution of property. The clan system aimed at creating and arranging definite rights and liabilities for every member of the clan at his birth, instead of leaving individuals to arrange these matters in their own ways. Kinship with the clan was the first qualification for the kingship, as for every minor office; and the king was the officer of the clan, and the type of its manhood, not its despot. Whatever its constitution, the clan when formed was a complete organic and legal entity or corporation, half social, half political, was proprietor of everything and supreme everywhere within its territory. Within historical times the clan owned the land — part of

the land directly and immediately, the remainder ultimately. In earlier times it is very probable that the clan owned all the land and every other kind of property absolutely. It is very probable that at first neither individual property in land nor even the property of the *fine* in it was recognized, but only that of the clan, and that these smaller rights of property were at first temporary usufructs, which subsequently became permanent encroachments on the rights of the clan. At no time did the land belong either to the state in the broad sense or to the individual absolutely. Each clan was a distinct organism in itself, and the land was its property — its absolute property at first, till parts of it were encroached upon by the growth of private rights, but its ultimate property so long as the clan existed in its integrity. The clan was the all-important thing. After the clan in degree of importance came the *sept*, where one existed, and then the *fine*. The individual was left little to do but to fill the position assigned him and conform to the system. Among ordinary people the *flaith-fine* was the most important; but even his duties and liabilities were so clearly laid down as part of the system itself that he does not seem to have been left a wide discretion.

GINNELL, *The Brehon Laws*, 102–109.

The Phratry. — This is a brotherhood of clans, probably originally one clan, which, becoming overlarge, has subdivided.

The Tribe. — This name is properly applied to any community in which several hordes have become welded into a larger and more definitely organized society, occupying a defined territory, speaking one language or dialect, and conscious of its unity; or in which a single horde, grown to many times its original size, has become differentiated and organized.

The members of a tribe may dwell together in a single camp or village, or they may be distributed in two or more villages. When the tribe includes more than one village,

the arrangement may point to a survival of hordes that have been combined in a larger organization, or it may indicate the beginning of a division of the tribe into two or more new tribes.

Clusters of hordes in which a totemic clan organization has appeared have been consolidated into tribes under the pressure of attack by common enemies, or sometimes, perhaps, during migrations, or possibly through some other necessity not now obvious.

When consolidation had been effected, the permanent subdivision of the resulting tribe was into clans, since the same clan organizations were found in all, or nearly all, of the component hordes that entered into the tribe. The distinction of horde from horde tended to disappear, while the clan organization became increasingly definite.[1]

The Confederation. — This is any number of tribes united for warlike and sometimes for other purposes, but still maintaining a social organization on the basis of kinship, and therefore not developed into a true civil state.

A coherent aggregation or confederation of tribes is properly called a Folk or Ethnic Nation.

The Transition to Patronymic Kinship. — The change from a metronymic to a patronymic organization seems to have occurred at any stage in the evolution of tribal society. There have been instances of its occurrence in small hordes, in organized tribes, and again, after the organization of a metronymic folk by confederation.

In metronymic society, it is usual for husbands to follow the residence of the wives' kindred; to attach themselves to the brethren and uncles of the wives. The arrange-

[1] On the origin and evolution of the tribe, see *Principles of Sociology*, 273–275.

ment is well adapted to the perpetuation of the metronymic system of relationship. When, however, wives are obtained by capture, they are taken to the clan and domicile of the captors; and, being there deprived of the protection of their brethren, they fall under the complete power of their husbands.

Patronymic Origins in the East

In some of the Malayan tribes of the Babar Archipelago, "the men usually follow the women and live in their houses, and the children belong to the wife's family. A man may marry as many as seven wives, who all remain in the houses of their kindred. But sometimes wives are obtained by robbery, and are carried off to their husband's clans. The children then follow the father and take the father's name. In the Kisar and Wetar Islands also, the maternal system prevails, but it is passing into the paternal system by capture, which brings wife and children under the husband's control."

E. B. Tylor, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XVIII. 261.

Separation of husband and wife from the kindred of the wife, if brought about in any other way than by wife capture, may have the same consequences.

Patronymic Origins in America

It would seem, from such opportunities as I have had to collect facts in the field, that hunting and other parties are frequently organized in such a manner that the male members of a clan group proceed together in company with their wives and children. Under such circumstances, the control of the family necessarily falls into the hands of the husbands and fathers. This happens among Pueblo Indians, a matriarchal people with female descent, whose clans, in consequence of the scarcity of water for irrigation in their desert region, are obliged to separate widely for the cultivation of lands at a distance from the central pueblo.

The result is that the control of families and the training of children are temporarily taken out of the hands of their own kin on the mother's side, and with the acquisition of cattle in these new homes comes a tendency to settle there permanently.

J. W. POWELL, letter from, quoted by TYLOR, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XVIII. 258.

Pastoral Industry. — The motive to obtain possession of offspring attained its maximum strength, however, only with the appearance of forms of industry that engaged the interests and efforts of men, and gave value to the labour of sons. In most parts of the world this happened as a consequence of the domestication of animals. In the pastoral life was born the desire to multiply herds and herdsmen, and to transmit property to sons.

Wife Purchase. — As the value of women and children increased, and as industry in some measure diverted attention from war, marriage by purchase gradually succeeded marriage by capture. Purchase gave the husband even greater authority over the wife than he secured by capture, since his right to a purchased wife could not be denied by her kinsmen. They wholly surrendered her; and she could cherish no hope of restoration to them.

By the expedient of adopting the captured or purchased wife into the clan and totem of the husband, children became, in every sense, of the kindred of the father.

Ancestor Worship. — Paternal authority had important reactions upon religion. Without entirely displacing other religious observances, ancestor worship became a dominant cult, and in its turn this worship reacted upon domestic life and upon the structure of clan and tribe. Occasionally it resulted in that extreme development of authority known at Rome as the *patria potestas*. It facilitated the heredi-

tary transmission of office, since in the ancestor-worshipping patronymic group there always was a strong belief that the son of a great man was his most suitable successor in office. It was thought that the spirit of the father watched over the son's doings, and aided him with supernatural guidance.[1]

Ancestor Worship in Japan

But primitive men were ignorant of the advantages resulting from combination, and moreover, those virtues which are essential to the maintenance of society were not yet developed among them. The initial bond of union among primitive men must, then, be sought for in some *unconscious force*, and there can be little doubt that it had its origin in the ties of *consanguinity*. But the sphere of love amongst kinsmen is *limited in extent*, and there must have been, therefore, some other factor that acted as the centripetal force which drew distant relatives together and bound them into a community. *That factor was Ancestor-worship.* The worship of common ancestors, and the ceremonies connected therewith, maintained the semblance of a common descent amongst large numbers of widely scattered kinsmen who were so far removed from one another that they would, without this link, have fallen away from family intercourse. As the sentiment of consanguinity, which has been shown to have been the only bond of union amongst primitive men, grew looser by the wider dispersal of the ever increasing members of a family, the necessity became greater to weld together the various units of kindred lineage by means of the worship of a common progenitor, in order that the primitive group might grow up into a homogeneous community. Now, if the primary bond of union was the tie of blood, and if the tie of blood means the *extension of sympathy and love* to distant kinsmen, the explanation which has been given of the origin of ancestor-worship seems to accord better with the effect of this practice, than does the theory of the "dread of ghosts" or "ghost propitiation."

[1] On ancestor worship, see *Principles of Sociology*, 290–293.

The question whether ancestor-worship is *an universal institution*, that is to say, whether all races of mankind have, at some time or another, passed, or must pass, through the stage of this worship, is one the solution of which cannot be lightly attempted. Personally, I cannot conceive how the human race could have arrived at its present state of social and political life without at first experiencing the influence of ancestor-worship. M. Fustel de Coulanges in his brilliant work *La Cité Antique* asserts that the custom existed, at one time, both in Greece and in Rome, and the learned work of Dr. Hearn, entitled *The Aryan Household*, shows that Aryans were an ancestor-worshipping race; while most of the recent investigations of historians and sociologists, as well as travellers' accounts of the manners and customs of primitive peoples prove that the worship of deceased ancestors is practised by a very large proportion of mankind. This seems to point to the conclusion that all races practise it in the infancy of their development, and that it was the first step towards the inauguration of social life on a wide basis. . . .

There are two sacred places in every Japanese house; the *Kamidana* or "god-shelf" and the *Butsudan* or "Buddhist altar." The first-named is the Shinto altar which is a plain wooden shelf. In the centre of this sacred shelf is placed a Taima or O-nusa (great offering) which is a part of the offerings made to the Daijingū of Isé, or the temple dedicated to Amaterasu Omi-Kami the *First Imperial Ancestor.* The Taima is distributed from the Temple of Isé to every house in the Empire at the end of each year and is worshipped by every loyal Japanese as the representation of the First Imperial Ancestor. On this altar the offering of rice, saké (liquor brewed from rice), and branches of sakaki-tree (*cleyera japonica*) are usually placed, and every morning the members of the household make reverential obeisance before it by clapping hands and bowing; while in the evening, lights are also placed on the shelf. On this shelf is placed, in addition, the charm of Ujigami or the *local tutelary god* of the family, and, in many houses, the charms of the other Shinto deities also.

In a Shinto household there is a second god-shelf or Kamidana, which is dedicated exclusively to the worship of

the ancestors of the house. On this second shelf are placed cenotaphs bearing the names of the ancestors, their ages, and the dates of their death. These memorial tablets are called "Mitama-Shiro" which means "representatives of souls," and they are usually placed in small boxes shaped like Shinto shrines. Offerings of rice, saké, fish, sakaki-tree and lamps are made on this second shelf as on the first.

In the Buddhist household there is, in addition to the Kamidana, a Butsudan on which are placed cenotaphs bearing on the front posthumous Buddhist names, and on the back the names used by the ancestors during their life time. The cenotaph is usually lacquered and is sometimes placed in a box called "Zushi," while family crests are very often painted both on the tablet and on the box. Offerings of flowers, branches of shikimi-tree (*Illicium religiosum*), tea, rice and other vegetable foods are usually placed before the cenotaphs, while incense is continually burnt and in the evening small lamps are lighted. The Butsudan take the place of the second god-shelf of the Shinto household, both being dedicated to the worship of family ancestors.

From the foregoing brief description of the sacred altars of a Japanese household, it will be seen that there are *three kinds of ancestor-worship* in vogue; namely, the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor by the people, the worship of the patron god of the locality, which, as I shall show anon is the remains of the worship of clan-ancestors by clansmen, and the worship of the family-ancestors by the members of the household.

HOZUMI, *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law*, 9–11, 12–14.

Patronymic Organization. — The patronymic family is a more compact domestic group than the metronymic family, and with the evolution of ancestor worship, it tends to become the patriarchal family, in which for three or four generations the eldest living male ancestor exercises authority over all his descendants. This type is fully developed, however, only after the transition from tribal to civil society.

The patronymic horde, or village, in like manner, is a relatively compact group. Patronymic hordes are consolidated into tribes, and tribes are united in confederations, as in metronymic society.[1]

Greek Clan and Tribal System

Separate thy warriors by tribes and by clans, Agamemnon, that clan may give aid to clan and tribe to tribe. If thou do thus and the Achaians hearken to thee, then wilt thou know who among thy captains and who of the common sort is a coward, and who too is brave; for they will fight each after their sort. So wilt thou know whether it is even by divine command that thou shalt not take the city, or by the baseness of thy warriors and their ill skill in battle.

HOMER, *The Iliad*, translated by LANG, LEAF and MYERS, 32.

Advantages of Patronymic Kinship. — Patronymic kinship greatly increased the homogeneity and definiteness of the family group on the disciplinary and moral side. In the metronymic clan, power and authority resided, not in husbands and fathers, but in brothers and uncles. The child was thus subject to an irregular rule, and a divided responsibility. But when clans began to trace relationships in the male line, the child came under the sole and single authority of one man, his father.

The metronymic camp or village had no military or juristic unity. If a quarrel broke out between two clans, the men of the same camp or village, belonging as they did to various totems, were arrayed against each other — an occurrence that has frequently been observed in Australian tribes.

[1] For examples of patronymic organization, see *Principles of Sociology*, 165–168.

With the transition to patronymic kinship, the men and boys, rather than the women and children, constituted a majority of the clansmen who lived together in any place. The wives were of different clans. Consequently, the fighting strength, the moral authority, and the clan relationships were now, for the first time, united in the same group of individuals.[1]

Barbaric Feudalism. — Patronymic tribes in which chieftainship has become hereditary have usually, sooner or later, undergone changes of organization that have greatly modified the original tribal character, and have established a rude kind of feudalism.[2]

All historical peoples probably passed through the stage of pastoral feudalism. The best picture of it that remains to us is that disclosed in the pages of the Brehon law.

The Rise of the Flaiths

The Flaiths corresponded in some respects to modern nobles, and like them originated in an official aristocracy. Theoretically they were public officers of their respective clans, each being at once the ruler and representative of a sept, were elected on the same principle as the kings, required similar qualifications according to rank, and were provided proportionately with free lands to enable them to support the dignity and perform the duties of the office. They also, like the kings, were allowed to hold at the same time all other property which they might have had or might subsequently inherit or otherwise acquire; and their position gave them some facilities of requisition which other men did not possess. Their official land was in law indivisible; an apparent restriction which in practice became decidedly advantageous to them as a class, as we shall see.

[1] For a fuller treatment of this subject, see *Elements of Sociology*, 265–267.

[2] For a description of barbaric or tribal feudalism, see *Principles of Sociology*, 293–296; and *Elements of Sociology*, 267–269.

The law gave the right of succession to the most worthy member of the *fine* of the actual flaith, subject to the right of the clan to determine by election what member of the *fine* was in fact the most worthy. Hence the flaith's successor might not be his son, though he had sons, but might be a brother, nephew, cousin, or other member of the *fine;* and while the flaith's private property was on his death divisible among the members of his *fine* like that of any other individual, his official property with all the permanent structures thereon descended undivided to his successor, in addition to any share of the private property which might fall to that same person as a member of the *fine*. In course of time the hereditary principle encroached upon and choked the elective, the latter fell into desuetude, and the number of flaiths ceased to correspond to the number of septs. From the office and the land attached to it having been held successively by several succeeding generations of the same family, the flaith gradually learned to regard the land as his own private property, and the people gradually acquiesced; and I find it laid down by a modern writer as the distinguishing mark of a flaith, that he paid no rent, and that a man who paid no rent was a flaith though he owned but a single acre. This writer completely lost sight of the fact that the flaith was properly an official, and the land he held official land, and not his private property at all. The system under which he lived, and of which he formed a part, laid upon him certain duties for which the lands and revenues assigned him were a provision and a reward, and it was only through the decay and collapse of that system that he could venture to call those lands and revenues his own. The nature of his duties can most conveniently be explained when discussing the next succeeding class of society towards whom most of them were due and owing; and there also it will become very obvious that there was no such inadequate provision made for a flaith as a single acre would have been. It will suffice to mention here that a very high private-property qualification should have been possessed by the family for three successive generations before one could become a flaith at all; and then the official property was given in addition to that. In fact,

the flaiths were rather too well provided for, and were so favourably circumstanced that ultimately they almost supplanted the clan as owners of everything.

As the sea attracts all waters, as power and wealth attract to themselves more power and more wealth, the flaith class tended to become great at the expense of the people beneath them. They were constantly taking liberties with, and extending their claims over, land to which they had no just title; and the law under which official property descended contributed to the same result. The idea of private property in land was developing and gathering strength, and land was generally becoming settled under it. The title of every holder, once temporary, was hardening into ownership, and the old ownership of the clan was vanishing, becoming in ordinary cases little more than a superior jurisdiction the exercise of which was rarely invoked. During the time of transition I think the flaith class encroached upon the rights not alone of those below them but of those above them also; that it was chiefly their greed, pride, and disloyalty which led to the break-up of the Irish Monarchy. . . .

GINNELL, *The Brehon Laws*, 93–96.

The Laird in Sky

The name of highest dignity is Laird, of which there are in the extensive Isle of Sky only three, *Macdonald*, *Macleod*, and *Mackinnon*. The Laird is the original owner of the land, whose natural power must be very great, where no man lives but by agriculture, and where the produce of the land is not conveyed through the labyrinths of traffick, but passes directly from the hand that gathers it to the mouth that eats it. The Laird has all those in his power that live upon his farms. . . . This inherent power was yet strengthened by the kindness of consanguinity, and the reverence of patriarchal authority. The Laird was the father of the Clan, and his tenants commonly bore his name. And to these principles of original command was added, for many ages, an exclusive right of legal jurisdiction.

This multifarious, and extensive obligation operated with force scarcely credible. Every duty, moral or political, was absorbed in affection and adherence to the Chief. Not many years have passed since the clans knew no law but the Laird's will. He told them to whom they should be friends or enemies, what King they should obey, and what religion they should profess. . . . Next in dignity to the Laird is the Tacksman; a large taker or lease-holder of land, of which he keeps a part, as a domain, in his own hand, and lets part to under tenants. The Tacksman is necessarily a man capable of securing to the Laird the whole rent, and is commonly a collateral relation. These *tacks*, or subordinate possessions, were long considered as hereditary, and the occupant was distinguished by the name of the place at which he resided. He held a middle station, by which the highest and the lowest orders were connected. He paid rent and reverence to the Laird, and received them from the tenants.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 195–197.

Benefits of Barbaric Feudalism.—Tribal feudalism introduced in human society what Mr. Mallock calls the struggle for domination, as distinguished from the struggle for existence.

In tribal feudalism, also, appeared the beginnings of social organization on the basis of mental and moral resemblance, irrespective of kinship. Although clan and tribe continued to be organized on the gentile principle, the retainers of the chieftains, or the followers of the retainers, might themselves be men of any tribe. No question of relationship was asked; it was only necessary that they should be loyal adherents, faithful in their allegiance to their chosen leader and protector. Here was a first step in that momentous change which was finally to break down tribal organization and substitute for it the civil organiza-

tion of society on the basis of industrial and political association, irrespective of the limitations of blood relationship.

The Ethnic Nation. — The patronymic confederation tends to develop into the ethnic nation, usually ruled by a king.

Confederations of patronymic tribes of the same racial stock were formed, as confederations of metronymic tribes had been formed, under the pressure of a common danger, or the inspiration of a common ambition. They have always been more coherent, more formidable, and more stable than the strongest of metronymic confederations. Only patronymic confederations have developed into great states or nations. The Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Saxons, the Franks, the Germans, and the Slavs were originally tribally organized peoples which, by growth, confederations, and consolidations, developed into national states.

When patronymic tribes confederate and form the ethnic nation, the agnatic principle and ancestor worship, combined with political and military conditions, confer great authority upon the chief of the confederation. He becomes a military leader, a religious leader or priest, and a supreme judge, all in one. The chief, in a word, becomes a king.

With the achievement of confederation and the establishment of kingship, ethnogenic evolution is completed. A gentile folk or ethnos has come into existence. Its further development, if evolution is not arrested at this point, carries it into the new conditions of civilization.

Transition to Civil Society

The transition from tribal to civil organization is usually preceded by migration, and by settlement in a new environment won by conquest.

Migration and Settlement. — The ethnic society that has become partly feudalized and has reached the stage of confederation and kingship, is facing conditions that will further transform its organization. It is increasing in wealth and in population ; and it must resort to systematic agriculture. But the rapid evolution of energy that is taking place is followed by expenditures in lawlessness and restlessness. The semi-feudal chiefs and their retainers are by no means willing to settle down to agricultural life. To conquer and plunder and to compel a conquered population to do agricultural labour, is a more attractive programme.

The first effect of conquest and permanent settlement has been a varied demotic composition. Aggregations of racially related groups have been brought into close contact with populations of a different race or sub-race under conditions that have made social and demotic amalgamation inevitable.

England in the Transition from Tribal to Civil Society

4. I now commence my long journey, to examine minutely the whole island and its particular parts, and shall follow the footsteps of the best authors. I begin with the extreme part of the first province, whose coasts are opposite Gaul. This province contains three celebrated and powerful states, namely, Cantium, Belgium, and Damnonium, each of which in particular I shall carefully examine.

First of Cantium.

5. Cantium (Kent), situated at the extremity of Britannia Prima, was inhabited by the Cantii, and contains the cities of Durobrobis (Rochester) and Cantiopolis (Canterbury), which was the metropolis, and the burial-place of St. Augustin, the apostle of the English; Dubræ (Dover), Lemanus (on the Lymne), and Regulbium (Reculver), garrisoned by the Romans; also their primary station

Rhutupis (Richborough), which was colonized and became the metropolis, and where a haven was formed capable of containing the Roman fleet which commanded the North Sea. This city was of such celebrity that it gave the name of Rhutupine to the neighbouring shores; which Lucan,

"Aut vaga quum Thetis Rhutupinaque littora fervent."

From hence oysters of a large size and superior flavour were sent to Rome, as Juvenal observes,

"Circæis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, RHUTUPINOVE edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu."

It was the station of the second Augustan legion, under the count of the Saxon coast, a person of high distinction.

6. The kingdom of Cantium is watered by many rivers. The principal are Madus (Medway), Sturius (Stour), Dubris (at Dover), and Lemanus (Rother), which last separates the Cantii from the Bibroci.

7. Among the three principal promontories of Britain, that which derives its name from Cantium (the North Foreland) is most distinguished. There the ocean, being confined in an angle, according to the tradition of the ancients, gradually forced its way, and formed the strait which renders Britain an island.

8. The vast forest called by some the Anderidan, and by others the Caledonian, stretches from Cantium a hundred and fifty miles, through the countries of the Bibroci and the Segontiaci, to the confines of the Hedui. It is thus mentioned by the poet Lucan: —

"Unde Caledoniis fallit turbata Britannos."

9. The Bibroci were situated next to the Cantii, and, as some imagine, were subject to them. They were also called Rhemi, and are not unknown in record. They inhabited Bibrocum, Regentium (Chichester), and Noviomagus (Holwood Hill), which was their metropolis. The Romans held Anderida (Pevensey).

10. On their confines, and bordering on the Thames, dwelt the Attrebates (part of Hants, and Berks), whose primary city was Calleba (Silchester).

11. Below them, nearer the river Kunetius (Kennet), lived the Segontiaci (part of Hants, and Berks), whose chief city was Vindonum (Egbury Camp).

12. Below, towards the ocean, and bordering on the Bibroci, lived the Belgæ, whose chief cities were Clausentum, now called Southampton; Portus Magnus (Portchester); Venta (Winchester), a noble city situated upon the river Antona. Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) was garrisoned by the Romans. All the Belgæ are Allobroges, or foreigners, and derived their origin from the Belgæ and Celts. The latter, not many ages before the arrival of Cæsar, quitted their native country, Gaul, which was conquered by the Romans and Germans, and passed over to this island: the former, after crossing the Rhine, and occupying the conquered country, likewise sent out colonies, of which Cæsar has spoken more at large.

13. All the regions south of the Thamesis (Thames) were, according to ancient records, occupied by the warlike nations of the Senones. These people, under the guidance of their renowned king Brennus, penetrated through Gaul, forced a passage over the Alps, hitherto deemed impracticable, and would have razed proud Rome, had not the fates, which seemed like to carry the republic in their bosom, till it reached its destined height of glory, averted the threatened calamity. By the cackle of a goose Manlius was warned of the danger, and hurled the barbarians from the capitol, in their midnight attack. The same protecting influence afterwards sent Camillus to his assistance, who, by assailing them in the rear, quenched the conflagration which they had kindled, in Senonic blood, and preserved the city from impending destruction. In consequence of this vast expedition, the land of the Senones, being left without inhabitants, and full of spoils, was occupied by the above-mentioned Belgæ.

14. Near the Sabrina and below the Thamesis lived the Hedui (nearly all Somersetshire), whose principal cities were Ischalis (Ilchester) and Avalonia (Glastonbury). The baths (Bath), which were also called Aquæ Solis, were made the seat of a colony, and became the perpetual residence of the Romans who possessed this part of Britain. This was a celebrated city, situated upon the river Abona,

remarkable for its hot springs, which were formed into baths at a great expense. Apollo and Minerva were the tutelary deities, in whose temples the perpetual fire never fell into ashes, but as it wasted away turned into globes of stone.

15. Below the Hedui are situated the Durotriges, who are sometimes called Morini. Their metropolis was Durinum (maiden castle), and their territory extended to the promontory Vindelia (Isle of Portland). In their country the land is gradually contracted, and seems to form an immense arm which repels the waves of the ocean.

16. In this arm was the region of the Cimbri (part of Somerset and Devon), whose country was divided from that of the Hedui by the river Uxella (Parret). It is not ascertained whether the Cimbri gave to Wales its modern name, or whether their origin is more remote. Their chief cities were Termolus (probably in Devonshire) and Artavia. From hence, according to the ancients, are seen the pillars of Hercules, and the island Herculea (Lundy Island) not far distant. From the Uxella a chain of mountains called Ocrinum extends to the promontory known by the same name.

17. Beyond the Cimbri the Carnabii inhabited the extreme angle of the island (part of Cornwall), from whom this district probably obtained its present name of Carnubia (Cornwell). Their chief cities were Musidum (near Stratton) and Halangium (Carnbre). But as the Romans never frequented these almost desert and uncultivated parts of Britain, their cities seem to have been of little consequence, and were therefore neglected by historians; though geographers mention the promontories, Bolerium and Antivestæum (Land's End, and Lizard Point).

18. Near the above-mentioned people on the sea-coast towards the south, and bordering on the Belgæ Allobroges, lived the Damnonii, the most powerful people of those parts; on which account Ptolemy assigns to them all the country extending into the sea like an arm (Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and part of Somerset). Their cities were Uxella (probably near Bridgewater), Tamara (on the Tamar), Voluba (on the Fowey), Cenia (on the Fal), and Isca (Exeter), the mother of all, situated upon the Isca.

Their chief rivers were the Isca, Durius (Dart), Tamarus (Tamar), and Cenius (Fal). Their coasts are distinguished by three promontories, which will be hereafter mentioned. This region was much frequented by the Phœnician, Grecian, and Gallic merchants, for the metals with which it abounded, particularly for its tin. Proofs of this may be drawn from the names of the above-mentioned promontories, namely, Hellenis (probably Berry Head), Ocrinum (Lizard Point), and κριοῦ μέτωπον (Ram Head), as well as the numerous appellations of cities, which show a Grecian or Phœnician derivation.

19. Beyond this arm are the isles called Sygdiles (Scilly Isles), which are also denominated Œstromenides and Cassiterides.

20. It is affirmed that the emperor Vespasian fought thirty battles with the united forces of the Damnonii and Belgæ. The ten different tribes who inhabited the south banks of the Thames and Severn being gradually subdued, their country was formed into the province of Brittania Prima, so called because it was the first fruit of victory obtained by the Romans.

21. Next in order is Brittania Secunda, which is divided from Brittania Prima by the countries already mentioned, and from the Flavian province by the Sabrina (Severn) and the Deva (Dee); and the remaining parts are bounded by the internal sea. This was the renowned region of the Silures, inhabited by three powerful tribes. Among these were particularly distinguished the Silures Proper, whom the turbid estuary of the Severn divides from the country we have just described. These people, according to Solinus, still retain their ancient manners, have neither markets nor money, but barter their commodities, regarding rather utility than price. They worship the gods, and both men and women are supposed to foretell future events.

22. The chief cities of the Silures were, Sariconium (Rose or Berry Hill), Magna (Kentchester), Gobaneum (Abergavenny), and Venta (Cærwent) their capital. A Roman colony possessed the city built on the Isca (Caerleon on Usk), and called after that name, for many years the station of the second or Augustan legion, until it

was transferred to the Valentian province, and Rhutupis (Richborough in Kent). This was the primary station of the Romans in Britannia Secunda.

23. The country of the Silures was long powerful, particularly under Caractacus, who during nine years withstood the Roman arms, and frequently triumphed over them, until he was defeated by Ostorius, as he was preparing to attack the Romans. Caractacus, however, escaped from the battle, and in applying for assistance to the neighbouring chieftains was delivered up to the Romans, by the artifices of a Roman matron, Carthismandua, who had married Venutius, chief of Brigantia. After this defeat the Silures bravely defended their country till it was over-run by Veranius, and being finally conquered by Frontinus, it was reduced into a Roman province under the name Britannia Secunda.

24. Two other tribes were subject to the Silures. First the Ordovices, who inhabited the north towards the isle of Mona (Anglesey); and secondly the Dimetiæ, who occupied the west, where the promontory Octorupium (St. David's Head) is situated, and from whence is a passage of thirty miles to Ireland. The cities of the Dimetiæ were Menapia (St. David's) and Maridunum (Cærmarthen) the metropolis. The Romans seized upon Lovantium (Llanio Issau on the Teivi) as their station. Beyond these, and the borders of the Silures, were the Ordovices, whose cities were Mediolanum (on the bank of the Tanat) and Brannogenium (near Lentwardine). The Sabrina, which rises in their mountains, is justly reckoned one of the three largest rivers of Britain, the Thamesis (Thames) and the Tavus (Tay) being the other two. The name of the Ordovices is first distinguished in history on account of the revenge which they took for the captivity of their renowned chief. Hence they continually harassed the Roman army, and would have succeeded in annihilating their power, had not Agricola turned hither his victorious arms, subdued the whole nation, and put the greater part to the sword.

25. The territory situated north of the Ordovices, and washed by the ocean, was formerly under their dominion. These parts were certainly inhabited by the Cangiani,

whose chief city was Segontium (Cær Segont), near the Cangian promontory, (Brach y Pwyl Point) on the Minevian shore, opposite Mona (Anglesey), an island long distinguished as the residence of the druids. This island contained many towns, though it was scarcely sixty miles in circuit; and, as Pliny asserts, is distant from the colony of Camalodunum two hundred miles. The rivers of the Cangiani were Tosibus (Conway), called also Canovius, and the Deva (Dee), which was their boundary. In this region is the stupendous mountain Eriri (Snowdon). Ordovicia, together with the regions of the Cangiani and Carnabii, unless report deceives me, constituted a province called Genania, under the reign of the emperors subsequent to Trajan.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER, *On the Ancient State of Britain*, in GILES' *Six Old English Chronicles*, 437–444.

Sovereignty and Institutions. — When a tribally organized people has established itself upon a conquered territory, and has been obliged to define its relations to a subject race, an active development of the political phases of the social mind has always followed.

Sovereignty has then assumed a relatively definite form and a relatively positive character, and it has then speedily converted the social relations hitherto existing as facts of habit or custom into institutions, including, at this stage of evolution, government, and a priesthood, the family, property, and slavery or serfdom.[1]

The Patriarchal Kindred. — With the relatively compact organization of society that is permanently settled upon a definite territory, changes occur in all of the component groups. The family becomes increasingly definite, the clan gives place to new and specialized forms, and so in like manner does the tribe. Compact kindreds, hamlets, townships, and counties succeed to the old series of organizations making up the ethnic nation.

[1] See, for more detail, *Principles of Sociology*, 314–316.

The increased security and the more ample subsistence resulting from a settled agricultural life are followed by an increase of population which tends to make the clan organization unwieldy. Even in metronymic tribal society examples occur of a subdivision of clans, and in patronymic tribal society, where women follow the residence of the husbands, and a clan or some subdivision of it may therefore be identical with a village, a tendency is seen to recognize some definite group of kindred larger than a single family, but only a small part of the clan, as for many purposes a social unit. At some early time in the evolution of the European peoples, and of those Asian peoples that are included in the Aryan culture stock, the Patriarchal Kindred became a definite unit of the social composition.

This patriarchal kindred wherever found, as among the Aryans of India, the Greeks, the Slavs, the Celts, and the Germans, normally consists of five generations of descendants of a common ancestor, dwelling together as a community, sometimes as a joint family, and owning an undivided estate. At the end of the fifth generation the estate is divided, and each of the male heirs may be the first ancestor of a new kindred that will hold together, as before, for five generations.

For certain purposes of common defence kindred to the seventh generation are recognized as a wider group, and for yet rarer occasions of common protection kindred are counted to the ninth generation. Even this widest group of relations, however, may be but a fraction of a clan.

Another important difference between the patriarchal kindred and the true clan is that while kinship through fathers takes precedence of kinship through mothers, the group may fall back upon metronymic kinship when male

heirs fail, and for various purposes of juristic defence the kinship is often reckoned through both fathers and mothers.

The patriarchal kindred gave rank and authority to elders, and the undivided estate was by no means always shared and enjoyed equally. The eldest living male of the kindred was in many matters a supreme authority.

But on the lands occupied by the kindred were often found dwellers in some sense attached to the kindred, though not members of it in the stricter sense. They were of different origins, often representatives of a conquered people, often individuals from shattered kindreds elsewhere who, by some service, had made themselves objects of gratitude or of hospitality to the proprietary kindred, and by adoption had been taken into participation in some of its privileges.

Such individuals were commonly organized in partial imitation of the kindred groups, but on a basis of strict equality among themselves. As occupants of the land they may sometimes have paid a rent in produce to the proprietary kindred, or have rendered various services.

In this differentiation of the population occupying land held by a proprietary kindred we probably see the beginnings of that sharper division which at a later time is presented within the manorial community. The groups of non-kindred, inferiors, equal among themselves, were probably the beginnings of the class afterward known as villain tenants. And that democratic equality which many students of economic history a generation ago attributed to the "village community" probably never existed except within these organizations of non-kinsmen.[1]

[1] See F. Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*, and *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*.

The Greek Kindred

It was extremely improbable that a man would see further than his great-grandchildren born to him before his death. And it might also occasionally occur in times of war or invasion that a man's sons and grandsons might go out to serve as soldiers, leaving the old man and his young great-grandchildren at home.

If the fighting members of the family were killed, the great-grandsons (who would be second cousins or nearer to each other) would have to inherit directly from their great-grandfather: and thus, especially in cases where the property was held undivided after the father's death, we can easily see that second cousins (*i.e.* all who traced back to the common great-grandfather) might be looked upon as forming a natural limit to the immediate descendants in any one οἶκος, and as the furthest removed who could claim shares of the ancestral inheritance.

After the death of the great-grandfather or head of the house, his descendants would probably wish to divide up the estate and start new houses of their own. The eldest son was generally named after his father's father, and would carry on the name of the eldest branch of his great-grandfather's house, and would be responsible for the proper maintenance of the rites on that ancestor's tomb. He would also be guardian of any brotherless woman or minor amongst his cousins, each of whom would be equally responsible to him and to each other for all the duties and privileges entailed upon blood-relationship.

Thus seems naturally to spring up an inner group of blood-relations closely drawn together by ties which only indirectly reached other and outside members of the γένος.

In the fourth century B.C. this compact group limited to second cousins still survived at Athens, responsible to each other for succession, by inheritance or by marriage of a daughter; for vengeance, and purification after injury received by any member. . . .

This close relation was called ἀγχιστεία, and all its members were called ἀγχιστεῖς, *i.e.* any one upon whom the claim upon the next-of-kin might at any time fall.

H. E. Seebohm, *The Structure of Greek Tribal Society*, 54–55.

The Aryan Kindred in India

The kindred in the *Ordinances of Manu* is divided into two groups: —

1. Sapindas, who owe the *funeral cake* at the tomb.
2. Samānodakas, who pour the *water libation* at the tomb.

"To *three ancestors* the water libation must be made; for *three ancestors* the funeral cake is prepared; the fourth (descendant or generation) is the giver (of the water and the cake); the *fifth has properly nothing to do* (with either gift)."

This may be put in tabular form: —

Receivers of water.	1. Great-grandfather's great-grandfather. 2. Great-grandfather's grandfather. 3. Great-grandfather's father.
Receivers of cake.	1. Great-grandfather. 2. Grandfather. 3. Father. 4. Giver of cake and water. 5. Excluded.

Or inversely: —

Householder Brothers 1st Cousins 2nd Cousins	Givers of cake or *Sapindas*.
3rd Cousins 4th Cousins 5th Cousins	Pourers of water or *Samānodakas*.
6th Cousins	excluded.

Within the *Sapinda*-ship of his mother, a "twice-born" man may not marry. Outside the *Sapinda*-ship, a wife or widow, "commissioned" to bear children to the name of her husband, must not go.

"Now *Sapinda*-ship ceases with the seventh person, but the relationship of a Samānodaka (ends) with the ignorance of birth and name."

All are Sapindas who offer the cake to the same ancestors.

The head of the family would himself offer a share with all his descendants in the offering of the one cake to his great-grandfather, his grandfather, and his father. And if

this passage is taken in conjunction with the one quoted just above, the number sharing in the cake-offering, limited as in the text at the seventh person from the first ancestor who receives the cake, is just sufficient to include the great-grandson of the head of the family, supposed to be making the offering.

The group, thus sharing the same cake-offering, would in the natural course be moving continually downwards, generation by generation as the head of the family died, thereby causing the great-grandfather to pass from the receivers of the cake-offering to the receivers of the water libation, and admitting the great-grandson's son into the number of Sapindas who shared the cake-offering. And at no time would more than four generations have a share in the same cake offered to the three nearest ancestors of the head of the family.

The Samānodakas, or pourers of the water libation appear to have been similarly grouped.

"Ignorance of birth and name" was in Wales considered to be equivalent to *beyond fifth cousins*. According to the Gwentian Code, "there is no proper name in kin further than that"—*i.e.* fifth cousins. And this tallies exactly with the previous quotation from Manu limiting the water libation to three generations of ancestors beyond those to whom the cake is due, which, as has been seen, includes fifth cousins.

And it must be borne in mind that fifth cousins are great-grandsons of the great-grandsons of their common ancestor, or two generations of groups of second cousins.

H. E. Seebohm, *The Structure of Greek Tribal Society*, 51–54.

The Irish Kindred

The nearest hearths or "fine who bear the crimes of each kinsman of their stock" were, according to the *Senchus Mor* (1. 261):—

1. *Geil* fine;
2. *Derb* fine;
3. *Iar* fine;
4. *Ind* fine.

I think M. D'Arbois de Jubainville is probably right in explaining these four hearths or fines to be groups or grades of kindred. He divides them thus:—

The *geil* fine	father; son; grandson; brother.
derb fine	grandfather; paternal uncle; nephew; first cousin.
iar fine	great-grandfather; great-uncle; great-nephew; second cousin.
ind fine	great-great-grandfather; great-great-uncle; great-great-nephew; third cousin.

Whether this interpretation of the Brehon scheme of the divisions of the Irish fine or kindred be correct in every detail I shall not venture to give an opinion, further than to say that, viewed in the light of other tribal systems, it seems to me to be nearer the mark than the various other attempts to make intelligible what after all are very obscure passages in the Brehon Laws. The seventeen persons making up the four divisions of the fine or kindred must be taken, I think, as representing *classes* of relations and not individuals; *e.g.* under the head "first cousin" must be included all "first cousins," and so on throughout.[1]

So understood, the four hearths or groups of kindred liable for the eric would include the sixteen grades nearest of kin to the criminal. He himself, or the chieftain, would form the seventeenth person on the list.

FREDERICK SEEBOHM, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 76–77.

The Law of Brothers for Land

1. Thus brothers are to share land between them: four erws to every "tyddyn": Bleddyn, son of Cynvyn, altered

[1] Cf. *ante*, 458.

it to twelve erws to the uchelwr, and eight to the aillt, and four to the "godaeog": yet nevertheless, it is most usual that four erws be the tyddyn.

2. The measure of the legal erw is, four feet in the length of the short yoke, and eight in the length of the second yoke, and twelve in the length of the lateral yoke, and sixteen in the long yoke; and a rod as long as that, in the hand of the driver, with his other hand upon the middle spike of the long yoke, and as far as he can reach with that rod on each side of him, is the breadth of the erw; and thirty times that is the length. Others say, that it is to be a rod as long as the tallest man in the "trev," with his hand above his head, and proceeding in a similar manner as in the other.

3. If there be no buildings on the land, the youngest son is to divide all the patrimony, and the eldest is to choose; and each, in seniority, choose unto the youngest. If there be buildings, the youngest brother but one is to divide the tyddyns, for in that case he is the meter; and the youngest to have his choice of the tyddyns: and after that he is to divide all the patrimony; and by seniority they are to choose unto the youngest: and that division is to continue during the lives of the brothers.

4. And after the brothers are dead, the first cousins are to equalize, if they will it; and thus they are to do: the heir of the youngest brother is to equalize, and the heir of the eldest brother is to choose, and so by seniority unto the youngest: and that distribution is to continue between them during their lives.

5. And if the second cousins should dislike the distribution which took place between their parents, they also may co-equate in the same manner as the first cousins; and after that division no one is either to distribute or to co-equate. Hereditary land is to be treated as we have above stated.

6. Geldable land, however, is not to be divided between brothers, but the Maer and Canghellor are to share it equally between all in the trev; and on that account it is called register land: and there is to be no extinguished erw in the register land; but if there should be an erw of that description in it, the Maer and Canghellor are to share it in

common among all; to one as well as to another. And no one is to remove from his legal tyddyn, if an equivalent can be obtained for it of other land.

The Venedotian Code, XII. Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Vol. I. 167–169.

The Mark. — The patriarchal kindred and its non-kindred dependents or adherents were together a Village Community, or a number of communities or hamlets of some sort. Whether the group so composed was the organization, known in Teutonic history as the Mark, and alleged to have been brought by the Saxons to Britain, is by no means certain. We do not know so much about the mark as we should be glad to know. The mark may have been a clan, or it may have been a sub-clan, or it may have been a patriarchal kindred, or it may have been one of these organizations in one place, and another of them in some other place.

The County. — In like manner, the large organization which included many marks or hamlets, and which among the Saxons was called the gá, later the scír or shire, and still later, after the Norman Conquest, the county, may have been a clan occupying a clan domain, or a tribe occupying a tribal domain. This point also is obscure.

All that we can affirm with certainty about the evolution of the social composition of the civil society that grew out of tribal society is, that the confederation of tribes, or ethnic nation, became the civil state. The smallest group of kinsmen larger than a single family became the hamlet or village, the *deme* of the Greeks, the *vicus* of the Romans, the parish of the English; while some larger group of kindred, sometimes possibly the clan, sometimes, perhaps, the tribe, became the shire, or county. Those organiza-

tions known among the Saxons as the tun, or ten, and the hundred, it is more than probable grew out of the organizations of equal non-kindred dependents.

The Gá or Shire

Next in order of constitution, if not of time, is the union of two, three or more marks in a federal bond for purposes of a religious, judicial or even political character. The technical name for such a union is in Germany, a Gau or Bant; in England the ancient name Gá has been almost universally superseded by that of Scír or Shire. For the most part the natural divisions of the country are the divisions also of the Gá; and the size of this depends upon such accidental limits as well as upon the character and dispositions of the several collective bodies which we have called Marks.

The Gá is the second and final form of unsevered possession; for every larger aggregate is but the result of a gradual reduction of such districts, under a higher political or administrative unity, different only in degree and not in kind from what prevailed individually in each. The kingdom is only a larger Gá than ordinary; indeed the Gá itself was the original kingdom.

But the unsevered possession or property which we thus find in the Gá is by no means to be considered in the same light as that which has been described in the Mark. The inhabitants are settled as Markmen, not as Gá-men: the cultivated land which lies within the limits of the larger community is all distributed into the smaller ones.

As the Mark contained within itself the means of doing right between man and man, *i.e.*, its Markmót; as it had its principal officer or judge, and beyond a doubt its priest and place of religious observances, so the County, Scír or Gá had all these on a larger and more imposing scale; and thus it was enabled to do right between Mark and Mark, as well as between man and man, and to decide those differences the arrangement of which transcended the powers of the smaller body. If the elders and leaders of the Mark could settle the mode of conducting the internal affairs of

their district, so the elders and leaders of the Gá (the same leading Markmen in a corporate capacity) could decide upon the weightier causes that affected the whole community; and thus the Scírgemót or Shiremoot was the completion of a system of which the Mearcmót was the foundation. Similarly, as the several smaller units had arrangements on a corresponding scale for divine service, so the greater and more important religious celebrations in which all the Marks took part, could only be performed under the auspices and by the authority of the Gá. Thus alone could due provision be made for sacrifices which would have been too onerous for a small and poor district, and an equalization of burthens be effected; while the machinery of government and efficient means of protection were secured.

At these great religious rites, accompanied as they ever were by the solemn Đing, *placitum* or court, thrice in the year the markmen assembled unbidden: and here they transacted the ordinary and routine business required. On emergencies however, which did not brook delay, the leaders could issue their peremptory summons to a bidden Đing, and in this were then decided the measures necessary for the maintenance and well-being of the community, and the mutual guarantee of life and honour. To the Gá then probably belonged, as an unsevered possession, the lands necessary for the site and maintenance of a temple, the supply of beasts for sacrifice, and the endowment of a priest or priests: perhaps also for the erection of a stockade or fortress, and some shelter for the assembled freemen in the Đing. Moreover, if land existed which from any cause had not been included within the limits of some Mark, we may believe that it became the public property of the Gá, *i.e.*, of all the Marks in their corporate capacity: this at least may be inferred from the rights exercised at a comparatively later period over waste lands, by the constituted authorities, the Duke, Count or King.

Accident must more or less have determined the seat of the Gá-jurisdiction: perhaps here and there some powerful leading Mark, already in the possession of a holy site, may have drawn the neighbouring settlers into its territory: but as the possession and guardianship of the

seat of government could not but lead to the vindication of certain privileges and material advantages to its holders, it is not unreasonable to believe that where the Marks coalesced on equal terms, the temple-lands would be placed without the peculiar territorial possession of each, as they often were in Greece, upon the ἐσχατία or boundary-land. On the summit of a range of hills, whose valleys sufficed for the cultivation of the markmen, on the watershed from which the fertilizing streams descended, at the point where the boundaries of two or three communities touched one another, was the proper place for the common periodical assemblages of the free men: and such sites, marked even to this day by a few venerable oaks, may be observed in various parts of England.

The description which has been given might seem at first more properly to relate to an abstract political unity than to a real and territorial one: no doubt the most important quality of the Gá or Scír was its power of uniting distinct populations for public purposes: in this respect it resembled the shire, while the sheriff's court was still of some importance; or even yet, where the judges coming on their circuit, under a commission, hold a shiremoot or court in each shire for gaol-delivery. Yet the Shire is a territorial division as well as an abstract and merely legal formulary, although all the land comprised within it is divided into parishes, hamlets, vills and liberties.

Strictly speaking, the Shire, apart from the units that make it up, possesses little more land than that which the town-hall, the gaol, or the hospital may cover. When for the two latter institutions we substitute the fortress of the king, and a cathedral, which was the people's and not the bishop's, we have as nearly as possible the Anglo-Saxon shire-property, and the identity of the two divisions seems proved. Just as the Gá (*Pagus*) contains the Marks (*vicos*), and the territory of them all, taken together, makes up the territory of the Gá, so does the Shire contain hamlets, parishes and liberties, and its territorial expanse is distributed into them. As then the word Mark is used to denote two distinct things, — a territorial division and a corporate body, — so does the word Gá or Scír denote both a machinery for government and a district in which such

machinery prevails. The number of Marks included in a single Gá must have varied partly with the variations of the land itself, its valleys, hills and meadows: to this cause may have been added others arising, to some extent, from the original military organization and distribution, from the personal character of a leader, or from the peculiar tenets and customs of a particular Mark. But proximity, and settlement upon the same land, with the accompanying participation in the advantages of wood and water, are ever the most active means of uniting men in religious and social communities; and it is therefore reasonable to believe that the influence most felt in the arrangement of the several Gás was in fact a territorial one, depending upon the natural conformation of the country.

Some of the modern shire-divisions of England in all probability have remained unchanged from the earliest times; so that here and there a now existent Shire may be identical in territory with an ancient Gá. But it may be doubted whether this observation can be very extensively applied: obscure as is the record of our old divisions, what little we know, favours the supposition that the original Gás were not only more numerous than our Shires, but that these were not always identical in their boundaries with those Gás whose locality can be determined.

KEMBLE, *The Saxons in England*, 72–77.

Developed Feudalism. — Simultaneously with the development of sovereignty and institutions, and with the transformation of ethnic into territorial component societies there is usually a highly important development of feudalism. The semi-feudal organization, which arose before the migration, develops into that territorial feudalism which is familiar to the readers of history. Especially is this true if the conquered territory is relatively wide in extent, so that the conquering tribes make but a scattered population in their new dominions.[1]

[1] For a more detailed statement, see *Elements of Sociology*, 276–278.

Of People's Ranks and Law

1. It was whilom, in the laws of the English, that people and law went by ranks, and then were the counsellors of the nation of worship worthy, each according to his condition, "eorl" and "ceorl," "thegen" and "theoden."

2. And if a "ceorl" thrived, so that he had fully five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and "burh"-gateseat, and special duty in the king's hall, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

3. And if a thane thrived, so that he served the king, and on his summons, rode among his household; if he then had a thane who him followed, who to the king's "utware," five hides had, and in the king's hall served his lord, and thrice with his errand went to the king; he might thenceforth, with his "fore-oath," his lord represent, at various needs, and his plaint lawfully conduct, wheresoever he ought.

4. And he who so prosperous a vicegerent had not, swore for himself according to his right, or it forfeited.

5. And if a thane thrived, so that he became an "eorl," then was he thenceforth of "eorl"-right worthy.

6. And if a merchant thrived, so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

7. And if there a scholar were, who through learning thrived, so that he had holy orders, and served Christ; then was he thenceforth of rank and power so much worthy, as then to those orders rightfully belonged, if he himself conducted so as he should; unless he should misdo, so that he those orders' ministry might not minister.

8. And if it happened, that any one a man in orders, or a stranger, anywhere injured, by word or work; then pertained it to king and to the bishop, that they that should make good, as they soonest might.

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, Vol. I. 191–193.

Of Friendless Men

And if a friendless man or a comer from afar be so distressed, through want of friends, that he has no "borh" at

the "frum-tihtle"; let him then submit to prison, and there abide, until he go to God's ordeal, and there let him fare as he may. Verily he who dooms a worse doom to the friendless and the comer from afar than to his fellow, injures himself.

Laws of King Cnut, 35, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. I. 397–399.

Of Lordless Men

And we have ordained: respecting those lordless men of whom no law can be got, that the kindred be commanded that they domicile him to folk-right, and find him a lord in the folk-mote; and if they then will not or cannot produce him at the term, then be he thenceforth a "flyma," and let him slay him for a thief who can come at him: and whoever after that shall harbour him, let him pay for him according to his "wēr," or by it clear himself.

Laws of King Æthelstan, 2, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. I. 201.

The Rise of Towns. — Life and property becoming more and more secure, population and wealth increase. The differentiation of town from rural life begins.[1]

Citizenship. — Society is now ready for the final step in the transition from the ethnic to the civil system. The clansman, or tribesman, becomes a citizen.[2]

The Civic Nation. — The ethnic has now become a civic nation. It is not to be supposed, however, that the creation of the territorial state obliterates the thought of an ethnic unity. It only subordinates it to a higher ideal, in which the conception of territorial unity is given a more important place than it has hitherto held. The state still

[1] On the evolution of the town, the beginnings of trade and the rise of a trading class, see *Principles of Sociology*, 317–319.

[2] On the genesis of citizenship and the transition from the ethnic to the civic bond, see *Principles of Sociology*, 319–322.

consciously strives to secure the ethnic unity of its population; but the attempt is not now to preserve the purity of an ancient blood. It is rather to perfect a new ethnic unity that is to emerge from the blending of many elements. The consciousness of kind has broadened; the possibilities of assimilation are perceived; it is realized that men who have identified their interests with those of an ancient race, who have learned its language, and adopted its religion, may, by these means, become identified with it in spirit, and ultimately, through intermarriage, may become united with it in blood. Through the influence of this idea, the fiction of adoption is preserved in the law of naturalization.

Origins of Civil Society in Athens

With good reason the common people trusted Kleisthenes. Leading them and having their support, in the fourth year after the fall of the tyranny in the archonship of Isagoras (508 B.C.), he began his reforms by distributing the population into ten tribes instead of four, breaking up the old groupings in order to extend the possession of the franchise: whence the advice addressed to those who would scrutinize the list of the clans, not to mind the ancient tribes. Next he constituted the Council of 500 instead of 400 members, taking 50 instead of 100 from each tribe. In fixing the number of tribes he rejected a system of twelve so as to keep his new sections from any coincidence with the old cleavage into twelve trittyes which trisected the former tribes, and thus to secure a complete rearrangement of the population. The land as an aggregate of units, called townships or demes, was divided into thirty sections called trittyes, which were again united in three groups, ten trittyes being urban, ten inland, ten maritime; and of these trittyes three, determined by lot, went to form a tribe, with the condition that each tribe included one trittys of every group. Municipal privileges were extended to all residents in the deme

or municipality, all who lived in any given deme being declared to be fellow-deemsmen; and to prevent novelty of franchise being betrayed by the foreign sound of a father's name, Kleisthenes instituted the official style of describing an individual that prevails in the present day, *i.e.* by specifying his deme instead of his father. The forty-eight naukraries were superseded by 100 demes, and demarchs were created with the functions exercised by the old naukraroi. The demes received their names either from natural features of the locality or from their founders, if these were not irrevocably buried in oblivion. The organization of clans, phratries, and priesthoods was allowed to continue unaltered.[1] The tribes were named after ten heroes solemnly sanctioned by the Delphic oracle out of one hundred selected by popular vote.

ARISTOTLE, *Constitution of Athens*, Chap. 21.

The Composition of Civil Societies. — No extended description is necessary of that composition of civil societies which is finally perfected through the transitional processes above described. The series of component societies consists of three great parts, namely, Local Divisions, National States, and Federal States, or Empires.

Minor Divisions. — In the composition of the minor divisions families are combined in hamlets, villages or parishes; these, in turn, are combined in towns, communes, or cities; these, in their turn, are combined in counties or departments.

Some of these minor divisions are still undergoing evolution in modern civil society, while others are disintegrating. In western Europe, and in America, the patriarchal kindred, or compound family, long since broke up into single families. These long continued to be industrial

[1] "Thus," says F. G. Kenyon, *Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution*, "the ancient divisions were maintained for the benefit of the older families, but they ceased to be part of the regular organization of the community for political purposes."

units, and in a large proportion of European states, they remained for centuries legally indissoluble. At the present time, the single family, having ceased to be an industrial unit, through the widening of opportunity for its individual members to find economic occupation independently of one another, has in western Europe and in America become legally dissoluble.

Everywhere in the western world, large towns and cities are gaining in importance at the expense of villages and counties.

National States. — Counties or departments are combined in kingdoms, republics, or other commonwealths. When a kingdom or a republic is independent of any political power outside itself, it is known as a national state.

The Federal State or Empire. — Finally, kingdoms or other commonwealths may be combined in federal states or empires. Such were the vast component societies created by the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Hittites, the Persians, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Imperial or federal evolution is a characteristic political phenomenon of modern times. The united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has grown into the vast British Empire. The federal union of thirteen independent American states has grown into a federal nation of forty-seven states with continental territories and insular possessions in the West Indies and in the middle, the southern, and the eastern Pacific.

The Process of Development of the Social Composition

Generalizing from our descriptive and historical survey, we discover that the evolution of the social composition

has been a double process. As small groups have combined into larger ones, they also have subdivided into smaller ones. The unit of composition has become both smaller and more definite.

Hordes combined to form tribes, but at the same time they subdivided into Punaluan or other polyandrian families. Tribes, in their turn, banded together in confederations, and the polyandrian household underwent changes which converted it into the patriarchal kindred or compound family. Later on, federations of tribes became the political state, and the compound family broke up into single families, each consisting of father and mother and their immediate children, but no longer including, as in the patriarchal kindred, married children and grandchildren. Each family remained, however, an industrial unit, parents and children earning livelihood together, and each in a large proportion of states remained legally indissoluble.

Now, when the political nations are combining into world empires, the single family, like its predecessors, has ceased to be an industrial unit, and has nearly everywhere become legally dissoluble. More and more it depends for its integrity on unforced personal choice. Human society is becoming humanity, and its unit is no longer the legally indissoluble family, but is the freely choosing individual.

At every step in this long developmental process, three things have happened. The dominant social group has entered as a component into a larger social grouping. The smallest social group has subdivided, thereby establishing a new social unit. The intermediate social groups, losing their identity, have tended to atrophy, and in many instances have disappeared.

The Psychological Origin of the Social Composition

To a great extent all degrees of social composition beyond the family and the horde are products of the deliberative action of the social mind.

The social mind puts its impress on each component group and moulds it into conformity with a certain type. Thus, in a given community, every variety of the family may have existed at the outset, or may, from time to time, appear. But the social mind gives approval to some one type only, — for example, the monogamic, — and prohibits or discountenances all others. In like manner, in the commonwealth each component town, and in the federal state each component commonwealth, is compelled to conform to a type or standard.

In a particular development of the social mind we find also psychological conditions essential to the transition from ethnic to civil organization.

Ethnic societies belong psychologically to that kind or class which we have called sympathetic societies.[1] The earliest civil societies that attain to a relative stability are despotic or authoritative in type. We have seen how ethnic organization is broken down, and civil organization is rendered necessary, by an intrusion into ethnic groups of various unrelated, often highly miscellaneous, population elements. Psychologically, communities that are thus heterogeneous in demotic composition, and in a transitional state, are either congenial or approbational in type. Making, then, a rather broad generalization, we may say that congenial and approbational types of society mark the transition from sympathetic to despotic society, and

[1] Cf. *ante*, 11.

that corresponding changes in the social mind render possible the transition from ethnic to civil organization.

The Law of Development of Social Composition

The social mind does these things because it develops within itself a passion for homogeneity of type, and a judgment of the usefulness of integration or federation, as a defensive and offensive measure.

The law of development of the social composition therefore is: —

The social composition develops in proportion to the intensity and the scope of the passion for homogeneity.

CHAPTER III

The Social Constitution

Resemblance in Constituent Societies

Any association organized for carrying on a particular activity, or for achieving some special social end, is a constituent society. This name is descriptive because such associations collectively, when harmoniously correlated so that they supplement one another's functions, are the social constitution of the community. Collectively, they carry on the greater part of the diversified social activities. Since the constituent society has a defined object in view, it is purposive in character. Its members are supposed to be aware of its object, and to put forth effort for its attainment.

Of the three great modes of resemblance, — namely, the mental resemblance that is correlated with kinship, the mental and practical resemblance that is independent of kinship, and potential likeness, — it is the first and the third that are chiefly prominent and most insisted on in the component society. It is the second, or actual mental and practical resemblance for the time being, that is most conspicuous and most insisted on in the constituent society.

As each association in the social constitution does a specific work, it may be said to have a social function. From this point of view, purposive grouping may be described as Functional Association. The combination of purposive associations is, therefore, a coördination; and

their mutual aid is not limited by a mere increase of mass and power. It is effected, also, through a division of labour.

Types of Constituent Societies

Constituent, like component, societies are ethnic or civil in type. In membership many constituent societies are identical or nearly identical with certain component societies. In these cases the component groups are functioning as constituent associations; and to the extent that this occurs, the social constitution is not yet differentiated from the social composition. Other constituent societies are entirely distinct from component groups of every sort. Many constituent societies are secret organizations, others are open. Furthermore, every constituent society has a composition and a constitution of its own.

Ethnic and Civil Constitutions. — In communities whose composition is ethnic in type the constituent associations, like the component groups, are organized on a basis of consanguinity. They insist upon those resemblances that are correlated with the narrower degrees of kinship. In communities whose composition is civil in type the constituent associations, like the component groups, are based upon mental and practical resemblances that are independent of the narrower degrees of kinship.

Degree of Separation from Component Groups. — In certain cases the constituent society is only a component society, acting in a particular way, at a particular time, for a particular purpose; as if a village should on a special occasion resolve itself into a hunting party, or a public meeting, or a "committee of the whole" to celebrate a great event or to enjoy a festival. Differentiation of the

social constitution from the social composition is far more advanced in civil than in ethnic societies.

Many facts point to the conclusion that in social evolution constituent societies grow out of and are differentiated from component societies through a specialization of function. Constituent associations that are separate from the social composition are always voluntarily formed purposive associations.

Secret and Open Societies. — Secrecy and a rigorous exercise of authority over members are conspicuous features of purposive associations in savage tribes, and hardly less so in the great Oriental empires of China, Farther India, and Persia. In mediæval days they marked the social organization of Western Europe, but they are now exceptional there, and are rare in the United States, if the whole number of organizations is taken into account.

The Organization of Constituent Societies. — Every purposive association, whether differentiated from the social composition or not, whether secret or open, has not only a function but also a composition and a constitution which are adapted to the performance of the function.

In the composition of purposive associations individuals are combined as persons and by categories, — for example, the categories of employer and employee in the composition of an industrial group. The composition of associations should be studied with reference to the common trait or interest that unites their members.

The constitution of a purposive association is a plan of organization of its membership. The categories of individuals which compose it are combined in accordance with some principle of subordination or coördination, and the entire membership may be divided into sub-societies, bureaus, or committees.

The Constitution of Ethnic Societies

Ethnic societies are so much smaller than civil societies, their culture is so much less advanced, and their activities are so much simpler, that their constitution is relatively simple and undifferentiated. Some of its features, however, are unique.

Component-Constituent Societies. — This term may be conveniently used to designate those component groups that function as constituent associations, and those constituent societies that have partially but not yet completely separated from component groups in which they have originated. The component-constituent associations of ethnic society are the Household, the Clan, the Phratry, the Tribe, and the Confederation.

1. *The Household.* — This is the primitive purposive association; it is an organization nearly but not quite identical with the family. Its functions are cultural and economic.

The family, a unit in the social composition, is a genetic aggregation. The household is a purposive group composed of those individuals who live together in a dwelling, and who coöperate in learning their environment, in obtaining and preparing food, in manufacturing clothing, tools, and utensils, and in imparting their culture to their children. Commonly, but not always, the members of the family and the members of the household are identical. Individual members of the family may leave their own household group to dwell elsewhere, and the household may include members who are not of the family kindred. Therefore, while the family is a component society, the household, strictly speaking, is a constituent society or purposive association.

Fosterage in Ireland

We may premise at the outset, that a system of fosterage, governed by accurately defined laws, prevailed universally in Erinn from the remotest period of her history; a system, indeed, which in many of its features continued to prevail even down so late as to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And we have ample proofs that this fosterage was not a mere indiscriminate custom among all classes of the people, nor in any case one merely confined to the bare physical nurture and rearing of the child which in early infancy was committed to the care of a nurse and her husband; but that the fosterhood was generally that of a whole family or tribe; and that in very many cases it became a bond of friendship and alliance between two or more tribes and even provinces. In those cases the fosterers were not of the common class, poor people glad to perform their nursing for mere pay, and whose care extended to the physical rearing only. On the contrary, it is even a question, and one not easily settled, whether the term "nursing" in the modern acceptation of the word, should be applied at all to the old Gaedhelic fosterage and whether the term "pupilage" would not be more appropriate. As the present, however, is not the time to go into this very curious subject, I must content myself with stating as a matter of fact that the old Gaedhelic fosterage extended to the training and education not only of children up to the age of fourteen, but sometimes of youths up to that of seventeen years.

The daughters of peasants were taught by their fosterers to grind, to sift, and to knead, as well as the needle-work suited to their way of life; whilst the sons were taught the rearing of all sorts of young cattle, besides the kiln-drying of corn, and the preparation of malt, etc.

The daughters of the better and higher classes were instructed in sewing, cutting, and embroidering cloth; whilst the sons were taught the game of chess, the arts of swimming and riding, and the use of the Sword and Spear.

In fact, the Gaedhelic foster-parents in some sense filled the place among the ancients of what would now be called masters of boarding schools, and they did often actually

keep large establishments for the accommodation of many pupils; — though sometimes also they were simply private tutors residing in the family or within the domain of the parents of their pupils.

O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Vol. II. 355.

2. *The Clan.* — As a purposive association, the clan cherishes a common culture, especially in religion and in amusements, it engages in many common economic activities, it enforces rights and obligations, and it preserves the juridical tradition.

3. *The Phratry.* — The functions of the phratry are cultural and juristic. It conducts the more important religious ceremonies, and to it can be taken capital and other serious cases of criminal accusation, on appeal from the clan.

4. *The Tribe.* — Primarily a component group, the tribe, functioning as a constituent association, is a military organization, usually presided over by a council of chieftains who have been the successful leaders of war parties.

5. *The Confederation.* — Primarily a component society, the confederation, functioning as a constituent association, is a political organization. Its deliberations are conducted by a council composed of leading representatives of the federated tribes.

It is not until the confederation is formed that juristic and military affairs are brought under one common authority. In the single tribe the clan is practically supreme in juridical matters, as the tribe is in military matters. The council of the confederation not only determines war and peace for all the confederated tribes, but it also adjudicates the relations of tribes, and of the members of different tribes to one another, as the council of the clan adjudi-

cates the relations of its own members. Confederation, furthermore, assimilates the slightly differing cultures of the federated tribes, especially in language.

Special Associations. — The constituent associations differentiated and separated from component groups that may be found in ethnic society are, Religious Secret Societies, Hunting Associations, Feud Associations, Military Associations, and Political Associations.[1]

The Constitution of Civil Societies

While in ethnic society the social constitution is on the whole incidental to the social composition, in civil society the social constitution subordinates and dominates the social composition.

Component-Constituent Societies.— Each component group of civil society functions to some extent as a purposive association ; or rather, to speak with strict accuracy, each component group is nearly, but not quite, identical with some one constituent society.

As in ethnic society, the household is not always precisely the same group as the family. The incorporated village, a constituent society, is never quite identical with the village as a component group, because the latter contains inhabitants who are neither voters nor even residents, in a strict legal sense. The like distinction must be made between the municipality as a public corporation and the city as a component group, — a dense centre of population. The state, in turn, is never precisely identical with the commonwealth or the nation as a component society. The latter always includes inhabitants who are neither voters nor even citizens in the state.

[1] For detail, see *Inductive Sociology*, 207, 208.

1. *The Household.* — The functions of the household as a purposive association in civil society are the same in kind as in ethnic society, but more developed in form and in detail.

At a certain stage in the evolution of civil society the household, patriarchal in structure, becomes a highly complex economic organization. Such was the οἶκος of the Greeks, from which our words "economy" and "economics" are derived; such also were the *wele* or *gwely* of the Welsh Celts, and the similar patriarchal kindreds of the Saxons and the Northmen. In later evolution, however, the household surrenders most of its industrial activities to specialized associations.

2. *The Municipality.* — The public municipal corporation, including under this head the incorporated town or township, and the incorporated village or borough, has, like the clan in ethnic society, cultural, economic, and juristic functions.

When we remember that there are reasons for supposing that hamlets, developing into villages, themselves originated in permanent settlements of clans or sub-clans, we shall not be surprised to learn that the incorporated municipality in times past has maintained public religious rites. In many parts of the Old World it provides public amusements and festivities, and everywhere, in modern days, it maintains schools and other educational agencies, often including public museums, libraries, and galleries of art. It maintains bridges and roads, sewers, and often a water supply. In earlier days it often owned and managed public fields and commons. Various European cities have municipal manufacturing industries. In recent years many municipalities, European and American, have experimented

with the ownership and management of street railways and of the lighting service. A survival of the semi-communism of the clan is the municipal relief of the poor and support of paupers. Municipal corporations always have their machinery of public order and justice, including constables or a police service, and justices or magistrates.

3. *The County or Department.* — While it is possible that the county was originally identical with the tribe, permanently settled on the land, the functions of the modern county are chiefly economic and juristic, and not military.

The county maintains certain roads and bridges, courts and jails, and such officers of justice as judges, justices, sheriffs, and deputies. The county often supports paupers and defectives.

4. *The State.* — The chief purposive organization of civil society is the state, through which the social mind dominates the integral community, prescribes forms and obligations to all minor purposive associations, and shapes the social composition. Coördinating all activities and relations, the state maintains conditions under which all its subjects may live, as Aristotle said, "a perfect and self-sufficing life."[1]

Voluntary Associations. — Voluntary organization is coextensive with every mode of human activity.[2]

The Amphiktyonic Council

The Amphiktyonic Council then, there can be no doubt, was in no wise an instance of Federal Government, even in the very laxest sense of the word. It was not a political, but a religious body. If it had any claim to the title of a

[1] On the composition, constitution, and functions of the state, see *Inductive Sociology*, 210–213.

[2] For detail, see *Inductive Sociology*, 213–220.

General Council of Greece it was wholly in the sense in which we speak of General Councils in Modern Europe. The Amphiktyonic Council represented Greece as an Ecclesiastical Synod represented Western Christendom, not as a Swiss Diet or an American Congress represents the Federation of which it is the common legislature. Its primary business was to regulate the concerns of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. And the Amphiktyonic Council which met at Delphi and at Thermopylæ was in truth only the most famous of several bodies of the same kind. An Amphiktyonic, or, more correctly, an Amphiktionic, body was an Assembly of the tribes who *dwelt around* any famous temple gathered together to manage the affairs of that temple. There were other Amphiktyonic Assemblies in Greece, amongst which that of the isle of Kalaureia, off the coast of Argolis, was a body of some celebrity. The Amphiktyons of Delphi obtained greater importance than any other Amphiktyons only because of the greater importance of the Delphic sanctuary, and because it incidentally happened that the greater part of the Greek nation had some kind of representation among them. But that body could not be looked upon as a perfect representation of the Greek nation which, to postpone other objections to its constitution, found no place for so large a fraction of the Hellenic body as the Arkadians. Still the Amphiktyons of Delphi undoubtedly came nearer than any other existing body to the character of a general representation of all Greece. It is therefore easy to understand how the religious functions of such a body might incidentally assume a political character. Thus the old Amphiktyonic oath forbade certain extreme measures of hostility against any city sharing in the common Amphiktyonic worship. Here we get on that mixed ground between spiritual and temporal things on which Ecclesiastical Councils have often appeared with more honour to themselves than in matters more strictly within their own competence. The Amphiktyonic Council forbade any Amphiktyonic city to be razed or its water to be cut off, with as good an intention, and with about as much effect, as Christian Synods instituted the Truce of God, and forbade tournaments and the use of the cross-bow. But more than this, the Amphiktyonic Council was the only

deliberative body in which members from most parts of Greece habitually met together. On the few occasions when it was needed that Greece should speak with a common voice, the Amphiktyonic Council was the natural, indeed the only possible, mouth-piece of the nation. Once or twice then, in the course of Grecian history, we do find the Amphiktyonic body acting with real dignity in the name of United Greece. We naturally find this more distinctly the case immediately after the repulse of the Persians, when a common Greek national feeling existed for the moment in greater strength than either before or afterwards. Then it was that the Amphiktyonic Council, evidently acting in the name of all Greece, set a price upon the head of the Greek who had betrayed the defenders of Thermopylæ to the Barbarians. But, in setting a price on the head of Ephialtes, the Amphiktyonic Council, as head of Greece, hardly did more than was done by the Athenian Assembly, if not as the head of Greece, yet as its worthiest representative, when it proscribed Arthmios of Zeleia for bringing barbaric bribes into Hellas. Sometimes again we find, naturally enough, this great religious Synod, like religious Synods in later times, preaching Crusades against ungodly and sacrilegious cities, against violators of the holy ground or of the peaceful worshippers of Apollo.

E. A. Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, Vol. I. 126–129.

Voluntary Associations in the Reign of William III

There is a very large Body of Persons, compos'd of the Original Society beforementioned, with the Additions that have been since made of Persons of Eminency in the Law, Members of Parliament, Justices of Peace, and considerable Citizens of London, of known Abilities and great Integrity, who frequently meet to consult of the best methods for carrying on the Business of Reformation, and to be ready to advise and assist others that are already engaged, or any that are willing to join in the same Design.

This Society is at a considerable Yearly Charge for the effectual managing their Business; but takes no Contributions of any but their own Members, by whose Endeavors, as was said before, Thousands of Offenders in London

and Westminster have been brought to Punishment for Swearing, Drunkenness, and Prophanation of the Lord's-Day; and a great part of the Kingdom has been awakened, in some measure, to a sence of their Duty in this respect, and thereby a very hopeful Progress is made towards a General Reformation.

A Second Society is of about Fifty Persons, Tradesmen and others, who have more especially applied themselves to the Suppression of Lewdness, by bringing the Offenders to legal Punishment: These may have actually suppressed and rooted out about Five Hundred Disorderly Houses, and caused to be punished some Thousands of Lewd Persons, besides Swearers, Drunkards, and Prophaners of the Lord's-Day, as may appear by their Printed Lists of Offenders. These Persons, by their prudent and legal management of their Business, have received great Countenance and Encouragement in our Courts of Judicature, and very particular Encouragement and Assistance, for several Years past, from the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, who are sensible of the great Service that is done by them, which they express upon proper Occasions.

A Third Society is of Constables, (of which sort of Officers care is taken to form Yearly a new Body in this City) who meet to consider of the most effectual way to discharge their Oaths, to acquaint one another with the Difficulties they meet with, to resolve on proper Remedies, to divide themselves in the several Parts of the City, so as to take in the whole to the best Advantage, for the inspecting of Disorderly Houses, taking up of Drunkards, Lewd Persons, Prophaners of the Lord's-Day, and Swearers out of the Streets and Markets, and carrying them before the Magistrates; and I must observe, that this is found a very advisable and successful Method for Constables to take, for the Suppressing of the abominable Sin of Swearing, when private Persons are negligent in giving of Informations, and the Magistrate is careless of his Duty.

A Fourth Rank of Men, who have been so highly instrumental in this Undertaking, that they may be reckoned a Corner-Stone of it, is of such as have made it some part of their Business to give Informations to the Magistrate,

as they have had Opportunity, of such Breaches of the Laws as were beforementioned. Many of these Persons have given the World a great and almost unheard of Example, in this corrupt Age, of Zeal and Christian Courage, having underwent, at the beginning more especially of these Proceedings, many Abuses, and great Reproaches, not only from exasperated and hardened Offenders, but often from their luke-warm Friends, irreligious Relations, and sometimes from Unfaithful Magistrates, by whom they have been reviled, brow-beaten, and discouraged from performing such important Service, so necessary to the Welfare of their Country.

* * * * * * *

Besides those beforementioned, there are about Nine and Thirty Religious Societies of another kind, in and about London and Westminster, which are propagated into other Parts of the Nation; as Nottingham, Glocester, etc., and even into Ireland, where they have been for some months since spreading in divers Towns and Cities of that Kingdom; as Kilkenny, Drogheda, Mannouth, etc., especially in Dublin, where there are about Ten of these Societies, which are promoted by the Bishops and Inferior Clergy there. These Persons meet often to Pray, Sing Psalms, and Read the Holy Scriptures together, and to Reprove, Exort, and Edifie one another by their Religious Conferences. They moreover carry on at their meetings, Designs of Charity, of different kinds; such as Relieving the Wants of Poor House-keepers, maintaining their Children at School, setting of Prisoners at Liberty, supporting of Lectures and daily Prayers in our Churches. These are the Societies which our late Gracious Queen, as the Learned Bishop that hath writ an Essay on her Memory tells us, took so great Satisfaction in, That She enquired often and much about them, and was glad they went on and prevailed; which, Thanks be to God, they continue to do; as the Reverend Dr. Woodward, who hath obliged the World with a very particular Account of the Rise and Progress of them, hath lately acquainted us. And these likewise are Societies that have proved so exceedingly serviceable in the Work of Reformation that

they may be reckoned a chief support to it, as our late Great Primate Arch-Bishop Tillotsen declar'd, upon several Occasions, after he had examined their Orders and enquired into their Lives, That he thought they were to the Church of England.

JOSIAH WOODWARD, *An Account of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in England and Ireland*, 8–10; 12–13.

Evolution of the Social Constitution

As in the evolution of the social composition, so in the evolution of the social constitution a double process is revealed, or rather a number of double processes.

Governments and private organizations duplicate each other's functions. In the social constitution either public or private associations can, at need, assume any social function.

In times of danger the government can operate fleets and railways, build bridges, manufacture goods, and transact financial operations on a vast scale, because, in times of security, it often does such things on a small scale. In times of anarchy or revolution, private associations can protect life and property, administer justice, and organize a provisional government, because, in times of peace, they initiate legislation, watch the enforcement of law, and hold governments to their work.

This generalization is of practical no less than of scientific value. It is the one adequate principle by which to judge the pretensions of socialism and of individualism. The socialists are right when they say that, if it were necessary or desirable, the state could carry on all social undertakings through public agencies. The individualists are equally right when they say that society could exist and, after a fashion, could achieve its ends, without authori-

tative government. Socialists and individualists are both wrong when they suppose that either of these things will happen under a normal social evolution.

The actual distribution of functions between public and private agencies is a varying one. It changes with changing circumstances.

So long as conditions are normal, movements that tend, on the one hand, to increase public activity, or, on the other hand, to enlarge the opportunities for private initiative, are self-limiting. They are tendencies toward equilibrium. Whatever belittles the state or destroys belief in its power to perform any kind of social service, whatever impairs the popular habit of achieving ends by private initiative and voluntary organization, endangers society and prevents the full realization of its ends.

Simultaneously with the development of this duplication of functions there has been developed an increasing mobility and freedom of the individual, as a member of the social constitution, while, at the same time, the stability of the social constitution itself, so far from being impaired by such mobility of its members, has, on the contrary, been steadily increased. The social constitution, in a word, has become at once both strong and flexible.

The metronymic clansman who lost his clan connection was an outlaw. Every man's hand was against him. The member of the patriarchal kindred who departed from the hearth was a "kin-wrecked" man. The villain tenant was bound to his manor for life. The mediæval craftsman could not leave his guild. Until the nineteenth century was well advanced, the English labourer could not go from parish to parish in search of work. Until within the nineteenth century the non-conformist protestant, no less than

the churchman, was made to suffer social penalties if he changed his religious allegiance. Hardly more than a generation ago the man who severed his political party connection to cast in his lot with another, or to vote independently, was an object of objurgation, and expatriation is a very modern right in the law of nations.

To-day a man can go freely from occupation to occupation. He can dissolve a partnership and enter into another. He can be a director in one and another corporation this year, and in entirely different ones next year. He can move freely from township to township, from city to city, and from state to state. He can leave his church or his political party at will.

Yet the social constitution does not suffer. The organization that loses certain individuals from its membership gains others in their place. Like the organs of the living body, each is composed of changing units, yet each maintains its integrity as a whole, and performs its functions without interruption.

From this plasticity and mobility two great advantages arise. Sooner or later individuals find the place where their maximum efficiency, as contributors to the social well-being, is realized. And at all times an increase of working force can be secured at any point in the social system where the demand is exceptionally great, by withdrawing units from points where the demand is for the time being relatively small.

Another generalization from the description of the social constitution is, that the various organizations of society are not only correlated, but are also subordinated, some to other organizations, and all to a general end.

The supreme end of society in general is the protection

and perfecting of sentient life. The end of human society is the development of the rational and spiritual personality of its members. Only the cultural associations are immediately concerned in this function. Educational institutions, ethical, scientific, religious, and æsthetic organizations, and polite society act for good or ill directly upon the individual. To these the economic, the legal, and the political organizations are, in a functional sense, subordinate. In a functional sense they exist for the sake of cultural organization and activity. The social mind has always perceived this truth, and by means of its sanctions has endeavoured to mould the social constitution into accordance with it. Associations and relationships are fostered or abolished with a view to cultural, no less than to protective, ends.

For both ends specialization and a division of labour are necessary. Therefore, while society maintains the homogeneity of its composition, it is obliged to tolerate and to promote differentiation in its constitution. Psychologically, therefore, the social constitution is the precise opposite of the social composition. It is an alliance in each simple association of individuals who, in respect to the purpose of the association, must be mentally and morally alike, but who in all other respects may be unlike; supplemented, in the relations of associations to one another and to integral society, by toleration, and by coördination of the unlike.

Law of Development

Still further generalizing, we may state the law of development of the social constitution as follows: —

The development of the social constitution is propor-

tional to the growth of an appreciation of the value of variety or unlikeness in society.

The social constitution, therefore, is the result of a desire to combine variety with homogeneity in a complex unity.

CHAPTER IV

The Character and Efficiency of Organization

Coercion and Liberty

The forms of social organization, whether component or constituent, whether public or private, whether incorporated or unincorporated, are either created by social authority or are permitted by it. Not only so, but any social organization may be an agency for the transmission of social control to its individual members. On the one hand, it may bring to bear upon them a social pressure to which they must yield, a social command which they must perforce obey. On the other hand, it may allow them the utmost freedom of thought and action, may even be a means of defending their individual liberties.

In these features we discover the general character of the social organization of a community. Organization is, on the whole, coercive, or it is, on the whole, liberal.

The Source of Liberty. — Social control, expressing itself either as sovereignty, — the will of the whole people manifesting itself through forms of government, — or expressing itself in those lesser degrees felt by the members of non-governmental associations, may be so coercive that no individual can successfully oppose it. If, therefore, the individual actually enjoys a high degree of liberty, it is because the social mind permits him to do so. It is because the sovereign state creates for him immunities, and protects him in the enjoyment of them.

The Laws of Liberty. — The first law may be stated as follows: Social organization is coercive in those communities in which sympathetic and formal like-mindedness strongly predominate over deliberative like-mindedness. Conversely, social institutions are liberal, allowing the utmost freedom of thought and action to the individual only in those communities in which there is a high development of deliberative like-mindedness.

A second law is of not less importance.

The forms of social organization, whether political or other, in their relation to the individual, are necessarily coercive if, in their membership, there is great diversity of kind and great inequality. Conversely, institutions or other forms of social organization can be liberal, conceding the utmost freedom to the individual, if, in the population, there is fraternity, and, back of fraternity, an approximate mental and moral equality.[1]

Efficiency of Organization

Since the social constitution is purposive organization, it should be studied not only from the standpoint of its plan or system, and of its character as more or less liberal, but also from the standpoint of its efficiency as a means to the attainment of the special and general ends to promote which it exists.

Organization must Benefit the Organized. — The general condition upon which the efficiency of social organization depends, by implication is stated when it is said that any association exists for the protection and development of the lives of its individual members.

Since an organization depends upon the loyal and ear-

[1] For the demonstration of these laws, see *Inductive Sociology*, 226–228.

nest coöperation of its members, its efficiency depends upon their devotion to it. Their devotion, in turn, depends upon their conviction that, in the long run, they actually secure the benefits, including all possible pleasures and utilities of association. Putting it in briefer terms, we may say that, to be efficient, all social organizations must be regarded by the organized as beneficial to themselves.

To secure this end the community must accept the moral principle that office is a trust, and it must recognize and demand expert knowledge.

PART IV

THE SOCIAL WELFARE

CHAPTER I

The Functioning of Society

The Ends for which Society Exists

The final tests of the efficiency of social organization are to be looked for in the results which organization brings about in the political and the juristic, the economic, the intellectual, and the moral life of the community, and especially in the development of an improving type of human personality. Throughout the foregoing pages these results have been recognized as the objects of collective desire, for the attainment of which social relations and activities are organized. Collectively they make up the Social Welfare. The social welfare, then, is the sum of the ends for which society exists. To secure and to perfect the social welfare is the social function.

These ends for which society exists are of two great classes, — the proximate and the ultimate.

Proximate Ends: Public Utilities. — The immediate results of efficient social organization are certain general conditions of well-being, in which all members of the community share, or may share if they like, and which, though external to the individual personality, are yet necessary to its perfection and happiness. They include the security

of life and of possessions, which is maintained by the political system; the liberty and the justice, which are maintained by the legal system; the economic opportunity and material well-being, which are created and maintained by the economic system; cultural opportunity, knowledge and fearlessness, created and maintained by the cultural system. The proximate ends collectively we may call Public Utilities.

Ultimate Ends: Social Personality. — Public utilities themselves, however, are means to an ultimate end. We value them and strive to augment them because they serve the individual life. Life itself is the ultimate social end, but not life irrespective of form or quality. It is life in its higher developments, especially its moral and intellectual developments, that society creates and perfects. It creates the higher from the lower types by multiplying helpful variations, and subsequently selecting the best results. It slowly shapes a social nature, or personality, adapted to social coöperation and enjoyment. This Social Personality — the moral, intellectual, and social man, the highest product of evolution — is the ultimate end of social organization.

In thus creating personality society converts mere evolution into progress. Evolution is integration and differentiation: it is correlation and coördination: it is not necessarily a betterment of conscious existence. Evolution is also progress when each unit of the integrated mass or group becomes an end as well as a means. In the evolution of vegetal and of animal life there has been much ruthless sacrificing of the individual to the race. In human evolution the race has been maintained and differentiated at a diminishing cost to the individual. This has

been accomplished by and through society. In the higher types of civilization individual freedom and well-being are continually increased, without necessary injury to the race. Race maintenance and evolution, with diminishing cost of individual life, with increasing freedom, power and happiness of the individual person, — is progress.

Genetic and Functional Order

In the chapters on the Social Mind the genetic order, in which the practical activities are evolved, was presented. Appreciation appears first, then utilization, then characterization, and finally socialization. Among the generalizations relating to the social constitution, however, it was shown that the political, juristic, and economic activities of society exist in a functional sense for the sake of the cultural. It thus appears that the functional order of social activity and organization reverses the genetic. This conclusion we may expect to see demonstrated by further inductive study.

Without some cultural development there could be no more than an organic or instinctive economy, while, on the other hand, there would be no need of more than an organic or instinctive economy were there no cultural interests to be served by higher economic methods. Without a somewhat developed economic system there could be no juridical organization, and, at the same time, no juridical organization would be needed were there no economic interests to be equitably adjusted. Without a cultural, an economic, and a juristic system there could be no political organization, and there would be no need of any if there were no juristic, economic, and cultural interests to be defended or extended.

Thus far our analysis has followed the genetic order. In the study of the social welfare it will follow the functional order.[1]

[1] An interesting study of the hierarchy of social activity and organization will be found in De Greef's *Introduction à la Sociologie*, première partie.

CHAPTER II

Public Utilities

Security

First among all the results of social activity and organization must be named Security. In the order of genesis a relatively perfect security may be the last result achieved; but in the functional order it stands at the beginning of the series. That there may be prosperity and enlightenment there must be not only security of life, but also security of territory and of institutions. There must, in short, be both international peace and domestic peace and order. To secure and to maintain these, as far as possible, is the supreme function of the political system.

Ancient Insecurity on the Ægean

For in ancient times both Hellenes and Barbarians, as well the inhabitants of the coast as of the islands, when they began to find their way to one another by sea had recourse to piracy. They were commanded by powerful chiefs, who took this means of increasing their wealth and providing for their poorer followers. They would fall upon the unwalled and straggling towns, or rather villages, which they plundered, and maintained themselves by the plunder of them; for, as yet, such an occupation was held to be honourable and not disgraceful. This is proved by the practice of certain tribes on the mainland who, to the present day, glory in piratical exploits, and by the witness of the ancient poets, in whose verses the question is invariably asked of newly-arrived voyagers, whether they are pirates; which implies that neither those who are

questioned disclaim, nor those who are interested in knowing censure the occupation. The land too was infested by robbers; and there are parts of Hellas in which the old practices still continue, as for example among the Ozolian Locrians, Ætolians, Acarnanians, and the adjacent regions of the Continent. The fashion of wearing arms among the continental tribes is a relic of their old predatory habits. For in ancient times all Hellenes carried weapons because their homes were undefended and intercourse was unsafe; like the Barbarians they went armed in their every-day life. And the continuance of the custom in certain parts of the country proves that it once prevailed everywhere.

THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Jowett, 4.

Equity

Next to security in functional order, and as an element in the social welfare, is Equity, a certain compromise and reconciliation of the differing interests and claims of the individuals, the racial elements and the classes, making up the social population.

As security is a result and expression of socialization, so is equity a result and expression of both socialization and characterization. To establish and to maintain it is the function of the moral and juristic organization of society.

That there may be a compromise and reconciliation of interests, there must be a limitation of liberty.

In principle, liberty must not destroy or limit liberty, except to save or to extend liberty. Those who enjoy liberty must not fetter or enslave themselves, they must not fetter or enslave others. Practically, however, in concrete human behaviour those who have great power of any kind seldom refrain from using it in endless ways to curtail the liberty of weaker or less fortunate men.

Practically, therefore, in actual experience, only one

way has been found to restrain liberty from destroying liberty. Liberty has been conserved and extended only by establishing certain modes of equality.

Subjective equality is impossible. Mental and moral equality no more exist than equality of physical health or strength. Equality of objective conditions is possible to any extent that may be necessary or desired. And an approximation to such equality is necessary in a society that would make continuing progress in liberty, prosperity, and enlightenment.

Men must have equal political rights, or those who have more will use the political organization to destroy the liberty of those who have less. In like manner, they must have equal juristic rights, or the strong and clever will despoil, or perhaps enslave, the weak. These truths have long been recognized. Agreement has not yet been reached upon the question whether men can have very unequal material possessions, economic opportunities, and cultural advantages, without a wholesale destruction of the liberties of the economically weak by the economically strong, with a consequent disruption of society and an ultimate overthrow of liberty. In all progressive societies, however, we discover a tendency toward a public control of the economic system, in the interest of a greater equality of economic opportunity, and a tendency, also, toward a complete equality of cultural advantages.

A Fair Chance in the Race of Life

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights

from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend.

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Special Session Message*, 1861.

Economic Opportunity

Third among public utilities, and in the functional order of the ends for which society exists, is that sum total of Economic Opportunity which society controls, extends, and apportions among its members.

The Creation of Economic Opportunity. — Material well-being is derived from the natural resources which the community has at its disposal, and depends upon the effectiveness with which they are utilized. But natural resources, once taken possession of by a social population, are thenceforward socially controlled, and effective utilization is conditioned throughout by socially established arrangements. Actual economic opportunity, therefore, is a social creation — a product of the social functioning, as truly as security and equity are.

The Apportionment of Economic Opportunity. — Society not only establishes and expands economic opportunity, but it also apportions it among its members.

The first attempts at apportionment are made through the institution of property. At first, tribal, or gentile, and later on collective within the narrower kindred, property presently becomes individual or private, as the old collective holdings are broken up. Consequent upon private property come developments of individual liberty in agri-

culture, in trade and in industry, and a wide extension of freedom to contract.

Under this régime of economic liberty and private property, the apportionment of economic opportunity is determined by individual ability and ruthlessness in competition. The daring and the resourceful obtain increasing control over economic opportunity, while the industrial weaklings become increasingly dependent upon the strong and the assertive. The most important natural resources become monopolized as private property.

Reaction against the increasing disparity of economic condition, resulting from the uncontrolled enjoyment of industrial freedom and exercise of the right of private property, leads to new developments of public control. Partly through the exercise of the police power, partly through the rights of eminent domain and of taxation, and partly through greater strictness in fixing the rights and obligations of corporations, the state begins to attach conditions to the power of private property, and to limit industrial liberty, all with the distinct purpose of broadening economic opportunity for the many.

As society becomes more complex, public control, taking the forms above mentioned, ceases to be entirely adequate to secure an equitable apportionment, and other means are resorted to. Chief among these is the creation of public property. The public takes title in certain lands, thereby preventing their monopolization by individuals or by a class. This policy, long since applied to water fronts and navigable waters, and in various countries to forests, may in the near future be extended to mineral-bearing lands. The United States carried out the greatest policy of public landownership and disposition in history in its

distribution of a vast western domain to actual settlers under its homestead laws.

The demand of socialism is that the partial conversion of private into public property in the means of production shall be made complete. According to the socialist, the equitable apportionment of economic opportunity, and its utmost expansion, are possible only by substituting public for private ownership in all natural resources and in the railways, factories, and workshops by which resources are exploited.

Material Well-being. — The product of economic opportunity, developed and organized, is material well-being, which is roughly measured and described by the increase and apportionment of wealth.

The Reforms of Lykurgus

The second and the boldest of Lykurgus's reforms was the redistribution of the land. Great inequalities existed, many poor and needy people had become a burden to the state, while wealth had got into a very few hands. Lykurgus abolished all the mass of pride, envy, crime, and luxury which flowed from those old and more terrible evils of riches and poverty, by inducing all landowners to offer their estates for redistribution, and prevailing upon them to live on equal terms one with another, and with equal incomes, striving only to surpass each other in courage and virtue, there being henceforth no social inequalities among them except such as praise or blame can create.

Putting his proposals immediately into practice, he divided the outlying lands of the state among the Perioeki, in thirty thousand lots, and that immediately adjoining the metropolis among the native Spartans, in nine thousand lots, for to that number they then amounted. Some say that Lykurgus made six thousand lots, and that Polydorus added three thousand afterwards; others that he added half the nine thousand, and that only half was allotted by Lykurgus.

Each man's lot was of such a size as to supply a man with seventy medimni of barley, and his wife with twelve, and oil and wine in proportion; for thus much he thought ought to suffice them, as the food was enough to maintain them in health, and they wanted nothing more. It is said that, some years afterwards, as he was returning from a journey through the country at harvest-time, when he saw the sheaves of corn lying in equal parallel rows, he smiled, and said to his companions that all Laconia seemed as if it had just been divided among so many brothers.

He desired to distribute furniture also, in order completely to do away with inequality; but, seeing that actually to take away these things would be a most unpopular measure, he managed by a different method to put an end to all ostentation in these matters. First of all he abolished the use of gold and silver money, and made iron money alone legal; and this he made of great size and weight, and small value, so that the equivalent for ten minæ required a great room for its stowage, and a yoke of oxen to draw it. As soon as this was established, many sorts of crime became unknown in Lacedæmon. For who would steal or take as a bribe or deny that he possessed or take by force a mass of iron which he could not conceal, which no one envied him for possessing, which he could not even break up and so make use of; for the iron when hot was, it is said, quenched in vinegar, so as to make it useless, by rendering it brittle and hard to work.

After this, he ordered a general expulsion of the workers in useless trades. Indeed, without this, most of them must have left the country when the ordinary currency came to an end, as they would not be able to sell their wares: for the iron money was not current among other Greeks, and had no value, being regarded as ridiculous; so that it could not be used for the purchase of foreign trumpery, and no cargo was shipped for a Laconian port, and there came into the country no sophists, no vagabond soothsayers, no panders, no goldsmiths or workers in silver plate, because there was no money to pay them with. Luxury, thus cut off from all encouragement, gradually became extinct; and the rich were on the same footing with other people, as they could find no means of display, but were forced to

keep their money idle at home. For this reason such things as are useful and necessary, like couches and tables and chairs, were made there better than anywhere else, and the Laconian cup, we are told by Kritias, was especially valued for its use in the field. Its colour prevented the drinker being disgusted by the look of the dirty water which it is sometimes necessary to drink, and it was contrived that the dirt was deposited inside the cup and stuck to the bottom, so as to make the drink cleaner than it would otherwise have been. These things were due to the lawgiver; for the workmen, who were not allowed to make useless things, devoted their best workmanship to useful ones.

PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, translated by AUBREY STEWART and GEORGE LONG, Vol. I. 74–76.

The Aristocratic Socialism of Athens

What is a socialistic organization of a city? The ownership and operation of land and capital collectively by the city, for the good of its citizens. Did Athens under Pericles have this? No student of Boeckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, nor one who can put together the statements of hundreds or thousands of passages in the classic Greek authors, can well deny this. Athens owned lands, mines, forests, farms, houses, markets, which it worked, under one form or another, for the profit of the citizens. Its citizens did not support the city; the city supported the citizens — at least all such as needed support. Out of the revenues derived from its possessions, Athens practically guaranteed a livelihood to every citizen. Have we not here the essence of a very complete Socialism? . . . It practically asked from each citizen according to his ability, and gave to each according to his need. This was accomplished in the main by two institutions: the so-called "liturgics," securing from the rich gratification for the less fortunate, and above all by the "dicasticon," or daily money payment for public service, given to any citizen who wished it, and in quantity sufficient to enable him to live upon it in respectability and ordinary comfort. It was the latter institution which

above all made Athens socialistic, and was introduced by Pericles, as we may clearly learn, among other sources, from Aristotle (Politics II, 12) and Plato (Gorgias, 575).

W. D. P. Bliss, *Where Socialism Was Tried*, *The Outlook*, Nov. 11, 1905, 618–619.

Cultural Opportunity

Fourth in the functional order of social ends, and as an element in the social welfare, is Culture, that product of the fundamental activities of conscious beings for the sake of which the political, the juristic, and the economic activities of society are maintained, and which, in its own turn, ministers directly to the higher development of self-conscious life.

The public utility corresponding to this phase of welfare is Cultural Opportunity, the sum total of those arrangements, activities, and policies whereby society secures to its members the possibility of obtaining and enjoying culture in the measure of their appreciative range and energy.

The Educational System. — Collectively, the cultural opportunities which society conserves and places at the disposal of the people constitute an educational system. This system includes so much of the social organization as is directly active in teaching, promoting learning, conducting research, and furthering discovery, and includes further the policies adopted and the methods followed.

In simple, almost primitive, society, the educational system is but slightly differentiated from the household and its interests. It teaches the practical arts of life and the simpler social traditions of language, religion, and conduct. In a somewhat more advanced stage of social evolution, the ecclesiastical organization is the chief educational agency, and it emphasizes religious culture. In

modern society, the social constitution includes a highly specialized secular educational organization. In its highest development, this secular educational organization includes primary and grammar schools, high schools and colleges, universities and professional faculties, special laboratories and libraries.

In the early stages of social evolution educational opportunity beyond very elementary instruction in the most necessary arts of life is extended only to a few individuals. In a somewhat more advanced stage it is extended to favoured classes. In modern democratic nations, opportunities of the widest range, and maintained at vast cost, are extended to the entire people without distinction of wealth, class, creed, or race.

The Cultural Product. — Culture itself, the product of educational opportunity, consists chiefly in knowledge and the diminution of fear.

Rise of Knowledge of Sanitation

The fearful visitations of disease, whether devastating plague, or *stoupe gallante*, the sweating sickness of the Tudor reigns, impressed fear upon all classes, and gave some individuals of the better sort an impression that cleanliness was a preservative against these evils. Some nobles were before the age in enlightened views upon sanitary matters. Those who would fain connect cleanliness with godliness, and who advocated the removal of noisome collections of matter, found in too many unwilling ears. Like many improvers, their wisdom was accounted impertinent folly. Thomas Howard, afterwards the third Lord Bindon, once Mayor of Weymouth, wrote in 1581 to William Pyt, his correspondent in the corporation:

"I ernst to find the town clene, and all the annoyance behind the town removed according to promise."

The Court of Hustings at Lyme had made sanitary

orders respecting the casting filth upon the beach at the Cobb gate, where the tide might carry the same away. These orders were by some disregarded, and probably ridiculed. The offenders figure in a presentment at the Hustings Court, A.D. 1580.

* * * * * * *

The sweating sickness, the plague, and other great forms of the visitation of disease, entered our towns. Our magnates treated them like unruly characters, and endeavoured to shut them up, to imprison them wherever they were found, and set watchmen to guard the locality in which they had seated themselves by night and day.

When the plague visited the Universities, those who did not set off shut themselves up in the colleges, allowing no one to have intercourse with them. The plague was believed to be greatly dependent upon the moon, and that the change of that satellite made appear who was infected or not.

Families could not be shut up without some care being taken of their having food for their subsistence during the period of their incarceration. Hence there were entries in borough archives about expenses incurred in carrying out this system.

In the year 1500, there was paid at Lyme, to "those that did watch by day for fear of the sickness, for four days 1*s.* 6*d.*" The watchmen were to prevent intercourse with infected parts and persons.

There is an entry in 1645 of money paid for the constables' bill for relieving thirty-two poor persons shut up upon suspicion of infection, 10*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* This *shutting up* of so many may have often proved a very cruel proceeding. Occasionally charges were made for the support of infected people who were shut up in other contiguous parishes. The mayor, 7th Aug. 1503, "delivered," as he entered it "to the constables of Whitchurch, 20*s.* for the infected people, whereof I (he enters) could collect but 14*s.* 6*d.* so the rest to the town account."

* * * * * * *

When any infectious disease broke out, the authorities were empowered, by an Act passed in the reign of

James I., to shut up the sick; and the watchmen or guards were protected from any proceedings against them, owing to violence used in keeping them closely confined. Discipline had to be administered, when the persons so watched proved troublesome. At Great Stoughton, Huntingdonshire, the constables, so late as the year 1710, charged thus in their accounts: "Pd. Thomas Hawkins for whipping two people that had the smallpox, 8*d.*;" and in 1714, "Pd. for watching, victuals, and drink for Mary Mitchell, 2*s.* 6*d.* Pd. for whipping her, 4*d.*"

Individuals in good circumstances would not always readily obey borough mandates.

At Lewes, in 1710, a Mr. Holmwood occasioned a charge of 12*s.* for several men to watch to prevent him from bringing his son up in the town with the smallpox.

Parties running away from the plague without a clean bill of health were advertised in the newspapers, and the parish in the country in which they were supposed to have secreted themselves.

We must not confound the watching or sitting up with an individual sick person with this public exercise of caution towards other towns. The mayor ministered to the wants of the afflicted like an overseer now-a-day. Mr. William Ellesdon, Mayor of Lyme, in his accompt 1595, enters—

Item, paid to Goodford's daughter for watching two nights with Hill the hellyer, 6*d.*

Friendly parishes sent persons round upon the outbreak of disease. "These prophets of ills" were rewarded as was really just: "Paid two messengers from Halstock to give notice the Small Pox was there, 5*s.*"

In 1602 a surgeon was paid for "searching a corpse suspected to be of the plague, 3*s.* 4*d.*" This is equivalent to "making a *post mortem* examination."

The plague being once declared, all dogs, swine, cats, and tame pigeons seen at large were killed, as it was believed these animals spread infection.

* * * * * * *

Windows facing houses suspected of containing infection were to be kept closed.

Fires were to be made in movable pans in churches. Bonfires were lighted in the streets. At Leicester the following bye-law was made, which may indeed be styled a despotism: — "Any one having been visited with the plague who for two months presumes to go among those that are clean, to forfeit 5*l.*, or lose his freedom and be banished for ever out of the town without any redemption."

The presence of the plague being declared, the inhabitants of towns took flight. Herein they deemed their safety to lie. In certain "Constitutions" or laws framed at Lyme in the year 1570, we may learn the habit of flying from the seat of the dreadful pestilences of early times, which desolated England.

A freeman was to lose his valuable franchise if absent a year from the borough, *plague time excepted.*

ROBERTS, *Social History of the Southern Counties of England*, 283–288.

Enlightenment in America

It may be affirmed without extravagance that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps, a court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. *Special Session Message*, 1861.

Persisting Fear of the Unconventional

The religious activity of Blanktown, during the second period, presents two phases, a survival of the old-time religious fear, the function of which is the sanction of the

customary life, and a phase with a function comparatively new. Both are evident in the prevailing method of Sunday observance. The Sabbath is still observed by strict abstinence from work. Not only has there never been an attempt to have Sunday base-ball, golf, or horse-racing, in Blanktown, but such a movement never has been seriously agitated. Children are very rarely allowed to coast or to throw and catch a ball on Sunday. The card or dancing party scrupulously comes to an end before midnight on Saturday. . . . Sunday is observed not only by abstinence from work but also by church attendance. Individuals who go to an extreme of self-indulgence during the six days observe a strict abstinence therefrom on the seventh, . . . using Sunday to display before the assembled citizens their disposition to submit to the requirements of social propriety. Thus, as in the first period, Sabbath observance serves as a testimony on the part of each citizen to his submission to the canons of social propriety. It is a sign of *respectability*, that is, a sign of that fearful state under the influence of which the individual submits to the socially approved customs of self-denial. In virtue of this submission, he is *respected* by the community.

JAMES M. WILLIAMS, *An American Town*, 237–238.

A Liberal Education

That man, I think, has had a liberal education, who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself.

Such an one and no other, I conceive, has had a liberal education; for he is, as completely as a man can be, in harmony with Nature. He will make the best of her, and she of him. They will get on together rarely; she as his ever beneficent mother; he as her mouth-piece, her conscious self, her minister and interpreter.

HUXLEY, *Essays: A Liberal Education.*

CHAPTER III

The Social Personality

Final Results

The supreme result of efficient social organization and the supreme test of efficiency is the development of the personality of the social man. If the man himself becomes less social, less rational, less manly; if he falls from the highest type, which seeks self-realization through a critical intelligence and emotional control, to one of those lower types that manifest only the primitive virtues of power; if he becomes unsocial, the social organization, whatever its apparent merits, is failing to achieve its supreme object. If, on the contrary, the man is becoming ever better as a human being, more rational, more sympathetic, with an ever broadening consciousness of kind, then, whatever its apparent defects, the social organization is sound and efficient.

The development of social personality is measured by the increase of vitality, of sound and high mentality, of morality and of sociality; by a decrease in the population of the number of the defective, the abnormal, the immoral, and of the desocialized, the deindividualized, and the degraded.[1]

Men of Athens

What a record it is! Socrates (469–399 B.C.), Plato (428–347 B.C.), Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), surely in the

[1] For the detailed treatment of this subject, see *Inductive Sociology*, 249–264.

history of thought there are no greater names than these. In the drama, Æschylus (525–456 B.C.), Sophocles (495–406 B.C.), Euripides (480–406 B.C.) — here are the masters of the classic tragedy; while Aristophanes (444–380 B.C.) is the unique founder of the world's comedy. In history, Thucydides (470–404 B.C.) has perhaps no rival, while Xenophon (430–355 B.C.) has but few. In sculpture, Phidias (490–432 B.C.) and Praxiteles (390 B.C.) stand supreme, while Myron (480 B.C.) and Scopas (370 B.C.) occupy high place. In architecture, Ictinus and Callicrates, the architects of the Parthenon (438 B.C.), and Mnesicles, the builder of the Propylæa (437 B.C.) produced works, of their period certainly the most beautiful, and of all periods the most perfect buildings in the world. In painting, Polygnotus (460 B.C.) did work which cultured Athens placed on a par with her sculpture. In oratory, every school-boy knows of Demosthenes (385–322 B.C.), every college boy of Æschines (389–314 B.C.); while their contemporaries compared Lysias (445–378 B.C.) and Isocrates (436–338 B.C.) with these. In statesmanship, Pericles (495–429 B.C.), Cimon (504–449 B.C.), and Themistocles (514–449 B.C.) are names that would stand out in any history; while in generalship, Miltiades (490 B.C.), the hero of Marathon, and Nicias, the leader in the Spartan wars, can never be forgotten. Other names, among them Alcibiades (450–404 B.C.), Cleon (422 B.C.), Thrasybulus (390 B.C.), Lycurgus, the orator (395–323 B.C.), and Myronides (457 B.C.), belong to this period. Thirty-one names! Where in history is there another city that can produce even an approximation of such a record?

W. D. P. Bliss, *Where Socialism Was Tried, The Outlook*, Nov. 11, 1905, 617.

CHAPTER IV

Contributions to Humanity

Society and Humanity

As society in general should be judged by its functioning as a creator of security, equity, economic well-being, culture, and personality, so any particular society, a city, or a nation, wherever placed, or in whatever historical period existing, should be judged by its contribution in one or all of these particulars to that universal society — humanity — which is slowly being evolved, and to the ultimate well-being of mankind.

Polity. — Some societies there have been and are which will forever be remembered among men for their contributions to that supreme form of social organization — the state. They have been above all things creators of polity. Such were Athens and Rome — Athens the creator of democracy, Rome, of administration. Such are England and the United States, the creators of those great federal forms which conserve local liberties while establishing efficient central power.

Equity. — These same societies preëminently have been creators also of equity — that balancing of liberty and justice which is the supreme achievement in the realm of law. Rome, first among all peoples, shaped the traditional materials of law into logical and correlated systems of universal validity. The modern nations, England, the United States, France, Germany, Switzerland, and others,

are slowly adapting these forms, making them more serviceable, and, above all, more liberal.

Economy. — Perhaps we shall never know to whom mankind owes the supreme debt in the realm of economy. For perhaps we shall never be able to determine who were the first inventors of the chief economic arts. Egypt probably was the first nation to carry them to a high perfection. The last century, however, has witnessed greater achievements in man's power over nature than all former centuries combined, since the first inventions, and for these achievements the world is indebted chiefly to England and the United States.

Scientific Discovery. — All nations have made noble contributions to our scientific knowledge, but in this field, also, certain peoples have been preëminent. Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece made the first discoveries. The Saracens must through all time be remembered with gratitude for preserving and extending this knowledge through the long scientific night of the European Middle Ages. Since the European Renaissance every western nation has contributed noteworthy discoveries; but scientific activity has been especially characteristic of Italy, France, Germany, England, and the United States.

Religion. — Egypt and India, rather than Babylonia, were the creators of religion. Arabia and Syria have been realms of religious genius. The most nearly universal, and the most complex of the world religions, Christianity, is not less a product of Greek and Roman civilization than an inheritance of Semitic tradition. Among European nations, the so-called Latin peoples have made larger contributions to the forms of worship, and in general to the arts of religious expression, than have the people of

the north. The religious interest of the north has expressed itself rather in the creation of theologies and new forms of ecclesiastical organization.

Art. — Comparatively few communities have attained supreme excellence in art, and made incomparable contributions to the art treasures of the world. Greece has had no equal in the whole field. But the creators of Italian painting and of Gothic architecture were worthy successors of Greek genius.

Personality. — In comparing communities one with another as creators of the highest personality, it is impossible to regard quality alone. Every nation can point to one or more men who will forever rank among the immortals. But there have been two or three places and occasions that have witnessed so marvellous a multiplication of exalted personalities as to place the communities in which they appeared far beyond all other societies in human history in this supreme result of social evolution. Such were Athens in the age of Pericles, and Florence in the days of the Medici. Such was France on the eve of the Revolution, and such was England in her noble Victorian age.

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